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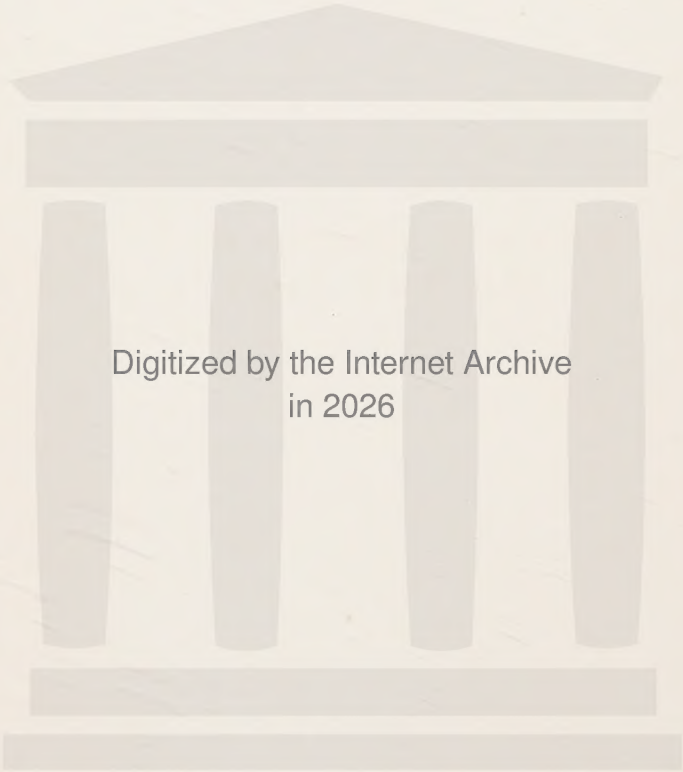
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CATHOLIC FOOTSTEPS IN OLD NEW YORK

VIEW OF THE CITY OF NEW AMSTERDAM (NOW NEW YORK)

A. M. D. G.

CATHOLIC FOOTSTEPS

IN

OLD NEW YORK

A Chronicle of Catholicity in the City of New York from 1524 to 1808.

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By *WILLIAM HARPER BENNETT.*

NEW YORK
SCHWARTZ, KIRWIN AND FAUSS
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✠JOHN M. FARLEY, D.D.,
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INTRODUCTORY

Herein is chronicled the coming of Catholics to what is now the Western Metropolis between the years 1524 and 1808. The following pages set forth the manner of men they were, the reasons for their coming and some of the things they observed, what they accomplished and what some of them suffered. The history of the long narrow island between the East and North rivers is interwoven, because of these visitors, settlers or captives, with the histories of the whole Western hemisphere, and of England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Spain, Italy, Holland, Germany and Africa.

He who attempts to tell the story of Catholicity in New York must wander far afield and gather cubes from many lands to construct the wondrous mosaic pictures of its rise, its progress and its present greatness.

On the threshold of life the men and women whose careers are recorded herein received Catholic baptism. A few won the martyr's crown, the lives of others were saintly, many were faithful to the end, an appalling number, because of a lack of spiritual succor in the early days, lost the Faith, and some others, among them a few who should have been "leaders in Israel," became a reproach to their forebears.

A mustard seed was planted here and the strong winds of persecution sought to uproot the

tender shoot, but the gentle rains of sacrifice nurtured it, and it has grown into a mighty tree with the roots deep in the soil, a very king among trees, and the sunlight of God's favor falls upon it in benediction.

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CATHOLIC FOOTSTEPS IN OLD NEW YORK

CHAPTER I

CONCERNING GIOVANNI DA VERRAZANO AND SOME OTHERS WHO CROSSED THE WESTERN OCEAN AND TOUCHED THE COAST OF THE NEW LAND AT LATITUDE 40° NORTH

For days the little caravel "Dauphin" had been sailing north by day and lying at anchor by night. Westward a low, sandy coast, dotted here and there, after nightfall, with the watch fires of the natives, eastward the mysterious ocean.

Giovanni da Verrazano, a typical sea rover of the sixteenth century, was master of the cockle-shell and he had been dispatched by King Francis I, of France, to seek a shorter northern passage to the Moluccas or Spice Islands, in the Malay Archipelago, than by the southern strait discovered by Magellan. Val di Grave, a little village near Florence, was Verrazano's birthplace. Here, about 1485, he was born of Piero Andrea di Bernardo da Verrazano and Fiametta Capella his wife. Little is known of his earlier years. During his boyhood Europe was electrified by news of the discovery of a new world

by Columbus and the thoughts of Verrazano, like those of many another Italian lad, were drawn to the vast western ocean and the unknown lands beyond. He went to sea at an early age on one of the vessels that traded between the coast cities of Italy and the African Mediterranean ports, for the silks, spices and other products of the far East. He journeyed to Cairo and Syria and voyaged to the East Indies in a Portuguese ship. He is supposed to have been in the Spanish service, and to have been keenly alert to acquire knowledge to fit him for the venture in which he was to embark later.

Hernando Cortez had conquered Mexico and the capital city of the Montezumas. Its untold wealth had fallen into the hands of the invaders, and fleet after fleet, laden with gold, silver and precious merchandise, and guarded by warships, sailed from Mexico and the West Indies to Spain. Spain was jealous and covetous where her new possessions and their wealth were concerned, and she excited the cupidity of her neighbors. There is an amazing difference between international relations three hundred and eighty years ago and to-day. Neutrality laws were unknown. It was an age of mercenaries on land and privateers or corsairs on the sea. Soldiers and sailors, free rovers afloat and ashore, could be hired at so much a head, and their share of the plunder. Some of England's most renowned naval heroes were buccaneers and slave traders. Henry Morgan, the pirate, after a career stained with massacre and pillage, was knighted by King Charles II, and served as a Commissioner of the Admiralty and Lieutenant-Governor of

Jamaica. Sir Francis Drake, when England and Spain were at peace, sacked Spanish towns on the Isthmus of Panama and along the coast of Spanish America and on his return to England was knighted by Queen Elizabeth. Sir John Hawkins carried cargoes of slaves from Africa to the West Indies and the Spanish main. Such were the doings of eminent commanders in those days, and Giovanni da Verrazano was little better than his compeers.

Several richly laden galleons were captured within sight of the Spanish coast and the news spread through the peninsula that a daring corsair, by name Juan Florentin, or John the Florentine, was lying in wait off the coast for homeward bound treasure ships. There is little doubt that John the Florentine and Giovanni da Verrazano were the same man and there is less doubt that his fleet of four caravels, swift sailers of light draught, were provided by King Francis I of France who was a partner in the venture. The Andalusian coast of Spain is high, indented with wild and sterile valleys. It is sparsely inhabited between the city of Cadiz and the straits of Gibraltar. On these high headlands the corsairs posted their watchers and when the sails of a galleon, which always first sighted land at Cape Trafalgar, were observed by the lookout, a swift signal was flashed to the caravels below, anchors were weighed, sails spread, decks cleared for action, guns manned and like birds of prey the corsairs swooped down on the unsuspecting Spaniards. Verrazano's first recorded capture was a ship from Hispaniola or Hayti. The cargo consisted of eighty thousand gold ducats,

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and a quantity of pearls and sugar. The prize, manned by its captors, was hurried up the coasts of Portugal and Spain to the port of La Rochelle, where it was condemned and sold.

After several more treasure ships were captured Spain began to realize that action was necessary to protect her commerce. A small fleet was sent out which defeated seven French corsairs near Cape St. Vincent on the Spanish coast and recaptured a prize. The following year another Spanish fleet retook from John the Florentine seven captured emigrant ships.

Three warships and three treasure ships sailed from Santa Maria of the Azores for Spain in May, 1523. Two of the galleons had been dispatched by Hernando Cortez from Mexico, the third was sent from Hayti. The cargoes, the richest ever shipped from Spanish America, consisting of gold, jewels, rarities and live animals, were valued at one and a half million dollars. A strict watch for corsairs was maintained, but not a sail was sighted until the fleet was within thirty-five miles of Cape St. Vincent. The lookout reported a sail, then another, and yet another, until six caravels had risen above the horizon. There was great joy on the homeward bound vessels, because their crews were sure that the oncoming fleet was of Spanish warships, come to escort them to port and they were certain that no French corsairs would dare attack so powerful an escort. On came the caravels, the crews of the Spanish vessels greeting them with welcoming shouts, but their joyous huzzas were changed to cries of rage and defiance when the decks of the caravels swarmed

with armed men who poured a murderous fire into them. The cries arose: "Juan Florin!" "Juan Florin!"

Sure enough, the dreaded Verrazano was in command. One of the Spanish warships put about and escaped, the commander of another was killed. It has been the rule of many writers in the English language to describe the Spanish soldier and sailor as a coward and a craven. A base calumny on a brave and gallant nation, whether of four centuries ago or to-day. Notwithstanding their disadvantages the Spaniards fought bravely but outnumbered, they were compelled to surrender. Verrazano took his immensely valuable capture to La Rochelle and a portion of the plunder was graciously accepted by King Francis.

There was an outburst of wrath in Spain over this theft of a million and a half dollars by the ships of a supposedly friendly nation on the high seas. Fleets were sent out to scour the coasts of Spain and France for Verrazano. Orders were issued that no homeward bound Spanish treasure ships should sail unless guarded by a powerful fleet of war vessels. Verrazano again went to sea with a more powerful fleet, but the Spanish coast had become an exceedingly perilous cruising ground, and it was then the corsair bethought him of a promise he had made to his royal patron, Francis, to sail to the new world and seek a shorter passage to the Moluccas.

Thirteen miles off the coast of the island of Madeira, a Portuguese possession, lie desolate rocks know as the Desiertas. Verrazano there prepared his ship, the "Dauphin," a caravel of

less than one hundred tons, for the venture into unknown seas. He stowed a cargo of provisions, arms and ammunition sufficient for an eight months' voyage, and shipped a crew of sea rovers as bold and fearless as himself.

January 27th, 1524, the anchor was weighed, the ship headed westward and, with a gentle easterly wind, the long voyage began. Until mid February the caravel ploughed placid seas under smiling skies, then came a change and Verrazano asserts that no sailor ever encountered a more terrible tempest. For three weeks more the little ship held its westward way until one day the lookout saw a low line of sand, fringed with the white foam of breakers. This was in latitude 34° north. The crew saw columns of smoke rising from great fires and knew the land was inhabited. The fires had been kindled by the Indians who, in the early spring, flocked to the ocean shore to feast on shellfish, and to manufacture from the shells wampum or seawan, as their legal tender was called. As no harbor was visible the vessel coasted southward for some distance, but not finding a bay the course was changed and she stood northward, Verrazano keeping a sharp lookout for an inlet. Passing the mouth of what we call Chesapeake Bay in the night, he landed next day, with a body of men crossed the neck of land and beheld the great expanse of waters. This he concluded was the Indian Ocean, and he redoubled his search for an inlet, anchoring by night and sailing by day. Landing parties were kindly received by the natives, but their kindness and civility were illy requited by the theft of an Indian boy.

Holding their northward course, the voyagers were becoming wearied with the sameness of the sandy coast until one day, in about latitude 40° north, there was a change in the coast and the sandy bar ended in a low point of land, off which the "Dauphin" arrived about the last of April, 1524. This designated on Maiollo's map, drawn three years later, as C. de S. María, the Cape of St. Mary, is known to-day as Sandy Hook. Rounding the point the "Dauphin" cast anchor in a spacious roadstead, the first European vessel to enter the bay of what was to become the great western metropolis. Manning the ship's boat Verrazano started on an exploring expedition. What he saw he told his royal patron later in these words: "At the end of one hundred leagues we discovered a very delightful place among some small hills, eminences, between which ran a very great river (una grandissima riviera) to the ocean, which was deep within to the mouth, and from the sea to the enlargement of the bay the rise of the tide was eight feet, and through it any heavy ship can pass. As in good duty we did not wish to run the risk of penetrating the coast without knowledge of the mouth of the river, we took the boat and entered the river within the country where we found it to be thickly inhabited and the people resembling the others we had seen, adorned with bird's feathers of different colors, coming towards us with evident delight, uttering very loud cries of admiration, indicating, if we had to land with the boat, where it was most safe. We entered the said river within the country about half a league, where we saw it formed a most beautiful

lake (un bellissimo lago), about three leagues in compass, upon which we saw boats, thirty in number, moving from one part to another with innumerable people, who passed from shore to shore to see us. Very suddenly, as is wont to happen to those navigating, an impetuous contrary wind blew in from the sea, compelling us to return to the ship. We departed from this region with much displeasure on account of its extent and attractiveness, for we believed that it was not without some resources of wealth as all the hills indicated the existence of minerals in them."

Whether a priest accompanied Verrazano on his voyage and offered the Divine Sacrifice during the stay of the "Dauphin" in the Great River, as Verrazano called it, there is no record. The Reverend J. Morgan Dix, D.D., writing of Verrazano's voyage, says: "Whether any one of the priestly order accompanied Verrazano on this voyage cannot be positively affirmed; it is altogether likely; indeed it would be next to impossible that this should not have been the case. Religious services of some kind or other were undoubtedly held, while his ship lay in the port which he has so accurately described; for he says elsewhere of the natives: 'They are very easily persuaded, and imitated us with earnestness and fervor in all they saw us do in our act of worship!'"

Sailing between Cape St. Mary and "Angui-leme," as he named a point of land on what is now Long Island, he sent a boat ashore on what is now Rockaway Beach and again at Quogue. Passing Montauk Point and Block Island he ob-

GIOVANNI DA VERRAZANO

served the mouth of the Thames River and anchored in Narragansett Bay.

Rounding Cape Cod, he sailed until he reached a point on the Maine coast. Here, his naval stores and provisions running low, he refilled his water casks and set sail for France, arriving at Dieppe twenty-eight days later, July 8th. Of his subsequent career little authentic is known. The year after his voyage his patron, Francis I, was taken prisoner at the battle of Pavia. Richard Hakluyt, an English historian of the times, says that Verrazano laid before Henry VIII the results of his voyage and a map of his discoveries. Of the whereabouts of this map nothing is known. In 1526 Verrazano, who was then about forty-six years old, entered into an agreement with Philipe Chabot, Admiral of France, Preudhomme, General of Normandy and others, to go on a mercantile venture as commander or pilot of a squadron of three ships. Although termed a mercantile venture this voyage was probably a privateering cruise in Spanish waters, but nothing definite is known of its results. This is the last authentic record concerning Verrazano.

A Spanish historian writes that in the autumn of 1527 Verrazano, while cruising off the Spanish coast, was attacked by a fleet of six Biscayan ships and was captured. He endeavored to bribe his captors offering them thirty thousand ducats to release him. While on the way from Cadiz to Madrid he and his guards were overtaken by a Judge of Cadiz with an order from the Emperor, Charles V, by virtue of which Verrazano was put to death. The historian Ramusio, says that on a second voyage to

America Verrazano was captured, killed and eaten by Canadian Indians.

The year following Verrazano's discovery of what is now called New York Bay, another caravel sailed past the low lying spit of land into the great roadstead. It flew the banner of Spain and was commanded by the renowned pilot Estavan Gomez. He named Verrazano's Cape of St. Mary, Cabo de Arenas or Sandy Cape, which was later transformed into Sandy Hook. The Bay of New York was named by him St. Christobel and the great river of the mountains, the San Antonio, according to Diego Ribera's map. Gomez was born in Spain in 1474 or 1478.

When Magellan went to Spain to lay before the Emperor his project for reaching the Spice Islands by sailing westward, Gomez who had petitioned for some caravels for an expedition to make new discoveries, was set aside and he had to be satisfied with the subordinate position of a pilot under Magellan. He incited his crew to mutiny on the voyage and returned to Europe. He was a delegate to the congress held in Badajos in 1524 to settle the differences between Spain and Portugal over the limits of their colonial discoveries.

Adventurous explorers, traders, and fishermen crossed the ocean from France. Some of them sailing up the " Grande " River of the mountains were impressed at sight of the Palisades and Weise in his "Discoveries of America to the Year 1525," says that they were named " L'Anormée Berge " (The Grand Scarp). In time the territory thereabouts was known as " La Terre

d'Enorme Berge" and this became corrupted into Norumbega. Gerard Mercator on a terrestrial globe made in 1541 represents the "Grande" River as if its channel were filled with "anormee berges," which he designates with the misspelled name "Anorumbega." On a map of the world, made for King Henry II of France, the name "Anorobagra" is applied to the Great River. The French traders found the Manants, as they named the Indians, living on the island at the mouth of the Great River, very friendly and willing to trade for their furs and peltries. There was an Indian village, in what is now the city of New York, located on the borders of a lake covering the ground included in the blocks bounded by Elm, Baxter, Worth and Franklin streets. Near the south end of this lake was a small island on which the French fur factors erected a fortified trading house. Of the date of the erection of this little fort and the length of its existence there are no records. These hardy adventurers pushed their expeditions nearly to the head of navigation of the Great River and on an island not far from Albany began the erection of a castle that was unfortunately destroyed by a freshet before its completion.

The Labadist missionaries, Dankers and Sluyters were told by the Indians that the ruins were the remains of a structure built by the Spaniards and a historian surmises that as De Ayllon, the founder of San Miguel Guadape, that stood on the site of the present Jamestown, Virginia, pushed his exploration south and east of New York, the Van Rensselaer Island ruins

may have been those of a fortified place erected by his party.

Roberval commanded a fleet that anchored in the harbor of St. John's Newfoundland, June 8th, 1542. His chief pilot, and commander of one of his vessels, was Jehan or Jean Allefonsce, a man nearly sixty years old and renowned in the annals of the Norman coast. He was a native of Saintonge near Cognac and Champlain called him the hardiest mariner of his time. He was brave, adventurous, of a haughty spirit; a man of ability and greatly admired for his daring as a fighter and his skill as a pilot. In his earlier days he had been, like Verrazano, a privateer or corsair, and his great zeal against the Spaniards prompted Francis I to detain him a prisoner at Poictiers as a sop to Spain. During the summer of 1542, Roberval ordered Allefonsce to cruise along the coast of Labrador to find if possible a passage to the West. The ice was so thick that he was compelled to abandon the search. Then, or at some other time, he explored the St. Lawrence River to the mouth of the Saguenay. Continuing his exploration southward he entered Massachusetts Bay and coming to Long Island Sound sailed its length.

In the National Library in Paris is preserved a Cosmographie attributed to Allefonsce. What is supposed to describe the western end of Long Island Sound and the East River reads: "This river is wider than forty leagues of latitude at its mouth, and within the width is as much as thirty or forty leagues, and it is full of islands, which extend twelve or fourteen leagues in the sea, and it is very dangerous on account of rocks and

swashings." Allefonsce here evidently describes the boiling and bubbling cauldron of Hell Gate. He was probably the first to sail the waters of the Sound and make the passage of the turbulent stretch at its western end. One can appreciate the bravery of Allefonsce and his hardy crew in navigating the awesome passage of this uncharted strait. Rounding the island of the Manants he sailed up the river past the town of "Norombegue." Of the Great Scarp or Palisades he wrote: "On the side towards the west of the said town (Norombegue) there are many rocks which extend to the sea about fifteen miles." Norombegue was at this time an Indian village, the French trading post having disappeared, no record remaining to tell when or how. Was it wiped out in a sudden uprising of the Indians, such as frequently threatened the little Dutch town that replaced it? Of the river, Allefonsce wrote that it was salty for eighty-eight miles. He sailed his ship to the height of navigable water. After following the sea for forty-one years the brave old Saintongeois was mortally wounded in a fight with the Spaniard, Menendez, near the reef of La Rochelle. Of him his eulogist Melin Saint Gelais wrote:

"La mort aussi n'a point craint son effroy,
Ses gros canons, ses darts, son feu, sa fouldre,
Mais l'assaillant l'a mis en tel desroy,
Que rien de luy ne reste plus que poudre."

André Thevet, a Franciscan monk, went out with an expedition of French Huguenots, sent by Admiral Coligny to Brazil in 1555. The

expedition landed at what is now Rio Janeiro, but, after a stay of ten weeks, Thevet left on a homeward bound vessel that coasted the shores of North America. There is no evidence that he landed at any point and historians regard the account of his voyage as unreliable. For thirty-six years France was rent with civil war and during its continuance there was a cessation of French-American exploration.

Eighty-five years after the anchor of Verrazano's "Dauphin" had rested on the bottom of the lower bay, Henry Hudson, supplied with maps by Captain John Smith of Virginia and induced by him to explore Verrazano's Great River, dropped the anchor of the Dutch yacht "Halve Maen" (Half Moon) in about the same place and "discovered" what is now the Bay of New York.

CHAPTER II

IN WHICH THE DUTCH SETTLE ON THE ISLAND OF MANANTS AND THERETO COMES ONE OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS WHO HAD SUFFERED FOR CHRIST'S SAKE

Dermer, an English sea captain, sailing in 1619 from Virginia to New England, "met on his passage with certain Hollanders who had a trade in the Hudson's River some years before that time." The little Dutch settlement had come to stay and grew year by year. In 1614 there was a petition sent to the States-General of the Netherlands by a syndicate of Dutch merchants for a special license to trade up and down that river (the Hudson), "and they affixed to their petition," says John Fiske in his "Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America," a manuscript map enriched with explanatory notes and memoranda. In these notes it is stated that the French were the discoverers of the river and had traded there with the Mohawks long before Hudson's time. Even in that early day of this settlement of Calvinists there were Catholic footsteps on Manhattan Island. In a company of the soldiers sent up the Hudson, in 1626, to garrison the blockhouse at Fort Orange, or Albany, as it is called, were two Catholics.

At the expiration of the twelve years truce

with Spain in 1621, war between the Netherlands and Spain was renewed. The little village on Manhattan Island embarked in privateering and in 1643 the privateer frigate, "La Garce," commanded by Captain Blauvelt, brought into the harbor a Spanish bark from Cuba laden with tobacco, sugar and ebony and another from New Spain with a cargo of wine. These were the earliest recorded prizes carried into the port. They were the forerunners of many hundreds of others in its history, that added enormously to its wealth and greatly to its infamy. In time privateering became piracy and New York was the notorious nest of the most unscrupulous buccaneers on the globe.

Catholics formed the bulk of the population of France in that day and non-Catholics in Spain were few, therefore when a French or Spanish prize was brought into port, condemned and sold, its crew, a majority of whom, it is safe to say, were Catholics, were put ashore as prisoners of war and held until exchanged.

It is early September, 1643. A little sloop, six days out from Beverswyck, Rensselaerswyck Colony, as the present City of Albany was then called, has sighted the high flagstaff of Fort Amsterdam, that stood at the southern extremity of Manhattan Island. The orange, white and blue flag is flapping lazily in the air. When the sloop is abreast of the fort those on board can see that it is a quadrangle three hundred feet long by two hundred and fifty feet in breadth, with a bastion on each corner. The fort resembles a big mound of earth and not a very secure mound at that, because there are deep

fissures in its sides and a dilapidated crumbling look about it generally. Evidently its inmates are aware of its condition because a number of negroes, under overseers, are at work facing one of the bastions with stone. On the southwest corner stands a big windmill, its revolving tower and long arms moving lazily. Over the ramparts can be seen a large tiled roof stone edifice with two high pitched gables and, rising between, a tower with an odd-shaped cupola topped with a weather vane. This is the church. Nearby stands a brick house of goodly size surrounded by smaller houses. Between the outer wall of the fort and the waters of the bay is a cluster of thatch-roofed and wooden-chimneyed domiciles strangely out of place in front of the fort's guns, and in a decidedly dangerous position if an enemy's fleet threatened the city. A short distance from the fort loom up a gallows and pillory.

The sloop kept well out in the stream to avoid the Capske, a ledge of rock that jutted out of the water, now covered by Battery Park, and glided through the channel between Pagganck (now Governor's) Island and the point of Manhattan Island, into the East River to the anchorage ground.

A short distance along the shore the eye was attracted by a big stone house, evidently but recently completed. Its five stories made it tower over the one and two-story houses of the town. It was the new tavern or Harburg, afterwards to become the Stadt Huys or City Hall, until its successor was built in Wall Street in 1700. The sloop's boat was lowered

and into it stepped a portly man in the garb of a clergyman who carefully assisted to descend as strange a figure as ever entered New York. A man of thirty-six years of age but seemingly of twice as many years. A bronzed, dark bearded face, lined and drawn with suffering, but in the eyes and expression "that peace which the world knows not of." Of the forefingers and left thumb of his hands only the jagged red stumps remain. Every finger shows a partially healed wound and from all, the nails are gone. After the mutilated man is seated in the stern, three or four men, stout burgesses from Rensselaerswyck, follow into the boat which is rowed rapidly towards the only wharf in New Amsterdam, near what is now the foot of Moore Street. A little group of soldiers and civilians has been attracted to the dock by sight of the boat and its passengers and ready hands assist the voyagers ashore. Many and hearty are the greetings showered on Dominie Johannes Megapolensis, of Rensselaerswyck, recently sent out by the Classis of old Alkmaer to minister to the brethren beyond the seas.

A strange pair they make, the portly minister in his clerical black, and, leaning on his arm, the bent broken figure in rags, partly Indian, partly European, that barely covers him. The sight brings the good wives and the children to the doors of the houses, but there is something about the wan face and the maimed hands of the visitor that stills the vociferous welcomes that greet the Dominie. At the sally-port of the fort the stolid sentry presented his arquebuse as the visitors entered and passed up the broad grass-

bordered walk to the new, high gabled, brick house of His Excellency, the Director General, or Governor, Willem Kieft.

The visitors passed into the hall, twenty feet in width, with its great brick double-faced chimney and white sanded floor, and are in the presence of the redoubtable Governor, "William the Testy." A short man with a round red face and little sharp gray eyes that seemed to pierce him at whom they looked. To the Governor, Dominie Megapolensis presented the strange visitor as Father Isaac Jogues, a Jesuit priest of New France, who had been captured and cruelly tortured by the Mohawk Indians, ransomed by the good burgesses of Rensselaerswyck and had, at the Governor's command, been escorted by the minister and burgesses to New Amsterdam there to await the sailing of a ship for France.

The priest was kindly welcomed by the Governor and was afterwards ushered into a spotlessly clean bedroom, the first he had been in for so long a time, and was provided with an entire outfit of clothing to replace the filthy, ragged, semi-savage garb he wore. At dinner the Governor seated him beside Dominie Bogardus, the pugnacious cleric of New Amsterdam, and he was indeed the hero of the hour. That evening, when the candles had been lighted, the Governor, his clerical guests and the Eight Men, as the colonial representatives were called, were seated in the big dining room enjoying their tobacco, Kieft asked the Jesuit to tell them the story of his career.

One would scarcely believe that Father Jogues, who had faced danger fearlessly on many occasions, would display timidity and a lack of self

confidence when asked to narrate his experiences. But his courage failed him, and, for a moment, he was overwhelmed with confusion. When he had recovered himself he told, with modest simplicity, his relation:

In the old historic city of Orleans, France, Isaac Jogues was born January 10th, 1607. At ten years of age he entered a Jesuit college and at seventeen began his novitiate. He was ordained in 1636 and though intended for the African mission was ordered to New France. In company with Fathers Chastelain and Garnier he sailed from La Rochelle. After a long and dreary voyage the shores of the island of Anticosti were sighted and left behind and the ship plowed and plunged through the ocean-like waters of the Bay of St. Lawrence with its distant shores crowned with misty mountains. The ship's anchors were dropped off the little fishing and fur-trading station of Tadoussac, at the mouth of the Saguenay River, and the travel-worn missionaries marveled at the wild grandeur of the great barren mountains that closed it in. Here they caught their first sight of the red men in the lodges of a band of Montagnais Indians. Up the great St. Lawrence they sailed, on one bank the eye ranging over a vast barrier of wooded mountains, on the other viewing frowning ramparts of walls, peaks and domes of granite. It was a world of the completest solitude. Passing Cape Tourmente, the Isle of Orleans and the wonderful falls of Montmorency, they saw a mighty promontory of rock that thrust its front into the river and on its summit, three hundred and fifty feet above, they beheld

a fortification from which floated the royal banner of France. This was Quebec. Beneath the cliffs nestled on the river bank a cluster of warehouses, sheds and frame dwellings and a zigzag path led from the river to the summit of the rock.

Father Paul Le Jeune, superior of the residence at Quebec, greeted the voyagers and escorted them to the crest of the mount. They were warmly welcomed by the officers and soldiers of the garrison, the factor of the fur company, the fur traders and a band of friendly Indians. On their left was the fort, with its ramparts of logs and earth, inclosing a turreted building of stone that was occupied as a barracks, officers' quarters and government offices. Near the fort was the recently completed chapel. The land around was cleared and cultivated, but at that day Quebec boasted but one dwelling house worthy of the name.

Leaving the settlement the Jesuits entered the forest, reached the banks of the St. Charles River and were ferried across in a canoe. In a meadow two hundred yards from the river was a square palisaded inclosure similar to a modern fort or post in the Indian country. Within were two buildings, one, which was the storehouse, stable, workshop and bakery, had been partially burned by the English, in an attack on Quebec, and never repaired. The other of mud-plastered planks, thatched with meadow grass, contained the chapel, refectory, kitchen and dormitory of the workmen employed about the place. Nothing could be plainer or more primitive than the furniture of the chapel and house. To complete the

discomfort of the mission house the roof leaked like a sieve. Such was the residence of the Mission of our Lady of the Angels.

When Father Jogues and his companions arrived, Father Le Jeune was the only priest at the residence. Fathers Daniel, Davost, De Nouë and Brebeuf having left for the far off Huron mission. There were no idle moments at the residence. The priests said mass and vespers, preached, heard confessions at the fort, instructed the Indians, and sought to master, by the crudest methods, the Huron and Algonquin Indian tongues. For recreation they labored among the men with spade and hoe in the fields of rye, barley, wheat and maize. At the time of Father Jogues' arrival in Canada, Father Le Jeune had been on the mission three years. With the aid of a renegade Indian he had succeeded in preparing, with the greatest difficulty, a dictionary of the Algonquin Indian language, and had gathered a little school of Indian children to whom he taught the sign of the cross, the Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary and Creed. After the arrival of the other priests he made short missionary trips among the Algonquins and his companions, after the greatest trials and difficulties, reached Ihonatiria on the shores of the Georgian Bay of Lake Huron and there established a mission. Father Jogues was soon ordered by his superior to join the Huron mission nine hundred miles distant in the wildness.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century the vast region, extending from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi River and from Hudson's Bay to the Carolinas, was divided between two great

families of tribes. The greater part of the territory was held by the Algonquins and in their midst, through Central New York dwelt the Iroquois, or Five Nations, consisting of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas. South of the Iroquois were the Andastes and Susquehannas; along the southern shore of Lake Erie the Eries; along the northern shore the Neutral Nation; on the shores of Lake Huron the Hurons, and south of that Lake the Tobacco Nation. At the time Father Jogues started on his journey the Hurons had conquered and demoralized the Algonquins, and the Iroquois, the bravest, most intelligent, best organized and most inhumanly ferocious of all Indian nations, were slowly but surely conquering the Hurons. Champlain, years before, had committed the grave error of assisting the Hurons with arms against the Iroquois and in retaliation, with but brief intervals of peace, the Five Nations were the deadly scourge of the French. The route to be followed by Father Jogues was by way of the St. Lawrence River, the Ottawa River and Lake Nipissing to Lake Huron. To avoid the Iroquois the Hurons used this route on their annual trading journeys to Quebec, and notwithstanding this precaution these expeditions were frequently attacked by the wily and ferocious Iroquois.

One morning in July the Quebec basin was thickly dotted with the canoe fleet of the Hurons, numbering about two hundred craft, and nearly eight hundred Indians landed for trade at the warehouse in the lower town. Their faces and bodies, glistening with paint and sunflower oil,

were a curious sight to the eyes of the Europeans. The day of their arrival was spent in erecting their huts and tepees, the second day a solemn council was held with the French officers, the third and fourth days they traded their furs, and tobacco for kettles, hatchets, knives, cloth, beads, ironware and clothing, and on the fifth day they were feasted by the Governor. Just as the rising sun crimsoned the waters of the great river, next morning, Fathers Jogues, Chastelain and Garnier, barefooted, in order not to injure their frail vessels, were crouched in the bottom of birch-bark canoes endeavoring, with unpracticed hands to assist their Indian companions, to propel the craft with a paddle.

Governor Montmagny, Father Le Jeune and most of the garrison and inhabitants of Quebec were on the river bank to wish them God speed, and the cannon of the fort thundered a salute that echoed and reëchoed among the hills. It was a journey of nine hundred miles through a savage-infested wilderness with Indian companions, sullen and terrified because of the proximity of the dreaded Iroquois. Their only food was sagamite—Indian corn crushed between stones and mixed with water—a dish that Father Chaumonot likens to the paste used by paper hangers. The toil of the voyage was extreme. There were thirty-five portages where the canoes and their cargoes had to be lifted from the water and carried around rapids and cataracts. Fifty times they were compelled to go barefooted into the rocky stream to push or haul the canoes through shallow places. They read their office at night, after the day's labor, by the light of the

moon or the flickering campfire. In the wilderness they meet Fathers Daniel and Davost returning to Quebec to establish a seminary for Indian children.

The returning missionaries were in a pitiful plight, terribly emaciated, barefooted, clad only in tattered shirts and cassocks, their breviaries hanging from their necks by strips of hide. They were, however, full of joy and happiness but deeply regretted leaving the mission station despite its terrible privations and trials. One month after their departure from Quebec Father Jogues and his companions stepped from their canoes into the Huron village of Ihonitiria on the banks of Georgian Bay. They beheld a great Indian settlement and in a conspicuous location the Mission house of St. Joseph with a high red cross reared before its entrance. The Mission house was similar in construction to all the houses in the Huron and Iroquois country. Its dimensions were thirty-six feet long by about twenty feet wide, framed with sapling poles, the tops of the poles on both sides bent into an arch to form the roof. These poles were braced with crosspoles and the whole closely covered with overlapping sheets of bark. The Indian houses were sometimes one hundred and fifty feet long and without partitions. Six or more families, with all their belongings, dwelt in a house, and each family had its own fire along the center. When we reflect that from fifty to a hundred human beings, and unnumbered dogs, lived in these hovels and that the only ventilation was through the bark curtained door and a slit in the roof, we may gain some idea of the discomfort

of such a domicile. The eyes were in a constant state of inflammation from the smoke, the stomach was sickened by the commingled odors, and the body was stung beyond endurance by the myriads of fleas with which the abodes swarmed. In summer the houses were intolerable from heat, in winter the face was blistered by the heat from the fires, while the back was frozen. Add to all this the abominable customs, rites and manner of life of the red men and we may obtain some faint idea of the awful penances and sacrifices of the pure, refined, cultured, gentle born priests who left the most highly civilized country in Europe to carry Christ to these barbarians. Truly they sacrificed all that men can sacrifice "for the greater glory of God."

Shortly after the arrival of Father Jogues at the Mission he and four others of the community were attacked by a contagious fever, and they had scarcely regained their strength when smallpox broke out and ravaged the nation. In the depth of the frigid Northern winter the Jesuits traveled from village to village, ministering to the sick and striving to win them to the Faith. Their success was not encouraging.

"Do they hunt in heaven, or make war, or go to feasts?" asked one sufferer.

"Oh, no," replied the priest.

"Then," said the Indian, "I won't go. It is not good to be lazy."

Many children, in danger of death, were baptized, but, after a time, the parents objected to the baptism of the little ones. The greatest enemies of the Jesuits were the hideously painted and garbed sorcerers or medicine men whom the

priests say were emissaries of Satan. They had great influence over the people to which their indecent rites and ceremonies contributed, and to win them from their paganism seemed a hopeless task. The early affection for the missionaries turned to fear and hatred, they were looked upon as mighty magicians, and their lives were in constant peril. Despite the menacing attitude of the savages the Mission of the Immaculate Conception was established at Ossossane, but two years later both missions were abandoned and a great central station called St. Marie was opened on the shores of Matchedash Bay. In the early winter of 1639, Fathers Jogues and Garnier went on a mission to the far-off Tobacco Nation. The forests were full of snow and in the thickly falling flakes they lost their way and were compelled to pass the first night in a spruce swamp, sleeping on the ground, on evergreen boughs. The storm ceased, and "Praised be God," said one of the priests, "we passed a good night."

They visited every village in the nation and were rebuffed and driven from each. When they departed they were followed by a band of Indians, with intent to kill them, but they escaped among the mountains in the darkness. Two years later Fathers Jogues and Raymbault penetrated as far west as the Sault Sainte Marie, in the present State of Michigan, and preached Christ to two thousand Ojibway or Chippeway Indians.

Father Jogues on his return was ordered to Quebec, to obtain altar supplies, clothing and writing materials for the Mission and trinkets for the Indians. The lower regions of New

France swarmed with wandering bands of Iroquois and the passage of the St. Lawrence River was extremely perilous. Father Jogues reached Quebec safely and six weeks later started on the return voyage with a flotilla of twelve canoes filled with Huron braves, a few Huron converts and René Goupil and William Couture, two laymen of the Mission who had devoted their lives to the work.

On the second day out while among the Islands of Lake St. Peter, the boats hugging the wooded shore to avoid the current, the voyagers were appalled at hearing the Iroquois war whoop, the most terrifying of human sounds. This was followed by a volley of shot from the shore and the appearance from the opposite bank of a number of Iroquois war canoes crowded with savages. The Hurons were panic stricken, and leaping ashore disappeared in the forest. Father Jogues, with a few converts made a stand for awhile, but was overpowered. The priest hastily baptized the Indians who had been under instructions. He was urged to fly but refused. William Couture had escaped but unwilling to desert Father Jogues returned, and, in his excitement, killed, with his gun, a great Chief. He was set upon, his clothing torn off, his finger nails pulled out and his fingers gnawed by the savages. Breaking away from his captors Father Jogues threw his arms around Couture's neck to protect him but the savages dragged the men apart, stripped the priest, and beat him with their clubs until he fell senseless, covered with blood. With diabolical cruelty they waited until he had revived then tore away his

finger nails with their teeth and mangled his fingers.

More awful than any bodily suffering must have been the poor priest's mental torments at this fiendish mutilation of his priestly hands. It deprived him of his greatest happiness on earth, for the hands that touch the Sacred Body of Christ must be without blemish. René Goupil was subjected to the same tortures as his companions. The twenty-three captives were dragged away on a four weeks' journey to the country of the Mohawk tribe of the Iroquois, which lay southward. Burned by the sun and fever, tortured with their wounds and by swarms of mosquitoes, they suffered torments. Meeting an Iroquois war party on an island in Lake Champlain they were compelled to run the gauntlet up a rocky hill and were beaten with war clubs and thorny sticks. Father Jogues, drenched with blood, fell, half dead. His hands were again mangled and fire was applied to his body. At night the young warriors lacerated his wounds and pulled out his hair and beard.

The party descended Lake George in canoes, and, landing near the future site of Fort William Henry, the prisoners, despite their pitiable condition, were forced to carry heavy loads of plunder. The upper Hudson was crossed, Lake Saratoga passed and they arrived at a palisaded Mohawk town. The entire population turned out to meet them and again the poor captives were compelled to run the gauntlet or "narrow road of Paradise" as Father Jogues called it. In the village they were placed on a high scaffold and a Christian Huron captive woman was com-

pelled to cut off Father Jogues' left thumb. Her horror and agitation caused her to tremble and hesitate thus increasing his agony a hundred fold.

After suffering tortures all day the captives at night were stretched on their back and their ankles and wrists were tied to stakes. The children amused themselves by placing live coals and red hot ashes on their naked bodies which they were unable to shake off. At three villages these tortures were repeated and at one of them Father Jogues was hung by the wrists for fifteen minutes between two poles in such manner that his toes could not touch the floor.

He never forgot his mission during these journeyings and tortures. He exhorted his companions to be of good faith and baptised a number of Huron captives, using, on one occasion, a few raindrops clinging to the husk of an ear of corn given to him for food. William Couture, by his bravery, won the admiration of his captors, was adopted into one of their families and was thenceforth safe from harm, but Father Jogues and René Goupil daily expected death. Three of the Hurons captured with them were burned to death at the stake.

The good priest lost no opportunity of baptizing dying infants, and René Goupil taught the children to make the sign of the cross. These acts aroused the superstitious terrors of the old Indian in whose lodge they lived and he incited two braves to murder. One day as Father Jogues and René Goupil were walking towards the village, reciting the rosary, the Indians came upon them and one of them buried

his tomahawk in Goupil's brain. He fell murmuring the name of Christ and Father Jogues dropped on his knees to await the fatal blow. He was commanded to rise and go home, which he did, after giving absolution to his dying companion.

Next morning, reckless of life, he searched for René Goupil's body and found it in a torrent, stripped, and mangled by dogs. He secured it intending to return and give it Christian burial, but in the night it was stolen by the Indians and when he sought it later it could not be found, although he waded for hours in the icy waters and tramped long in the forests. Then this poor mutilated and emaciated being, clad in his squalid raiment of tattered and cast-off skins, "crouched by the pitiless stream, mingled his tears with its waters and, in a voice broken with groans, chanted the service of the dead."

In the early winter he was carried off on the annual deer hunt, during which all the game taken was devoted to the Indian's god Areskoui. The priest would not eat the meat offered to a demon and starved in the midst of plenty. He was the veriest slave and drudge of his inhuman masters, he gathered their firewood, did their bidding uncomplainingly and bore their cruelty without a murmur, but when they mocked at God or ridiculed his devotions the miserable broken object of their contempt became the priest of the Ever Living God and uplifted by the dignity of his priesthood sternly rebuked them. When he could escape from "Babylon" as he called the Indian lodge and village he wandered in the forest telling his beads and repeating what memory still retained of his office.

He carved in the bark of trees the sacred symbol of redemption and the Holy Name of Jesus, and there prayed.

In July, 1643, a band of Indians took him on a trading trip to Fort Orange, Rensselaerswyck. At that day, the future capital city of the great Empire state consisted of a dilapidated log fort or stockade surrounded by twenty-five or thirty little houses. Its one hundred inhabitants were tenants of Van Rensselaer, the patroon or lord of the Manor. Tidings of the capture of Father Jogues had reached France and the Queen Regent had asked the States-General for assistance in rescuing him from the savages. Orders had been issued to all the commandants in New Netherland to deliver Father Jogues if possible. Word of the priestly captive had come to Rensselaerswyck, and Arendt Van Corlaer, John Labadie and another had offered to ransom him, but the Indians would not consider the offer. When Father Jogues was taken to Rensselaerswyck a small Dutch trading sloop was lying in the Hudson ready to sail for New Amsterdam, and in the hold of this vessel he was hidden. Arendt Van Corlear offered the missionary a free passage and urged him to accept. Dominie Johannes Megapolensis added his appeals to Van Corlaer's. Father Jogues suffered agonies of mind, full of anxiety lest his love of life and self should beguile him to seek safety in flight while a chance remained to save one heathen soul through baptism. On the other hand he realized that to remain was suicidal. When his escape was discovered the Indians were infuriated and threatened to destroy the settlement. Father

Jogues urged the authorities to surrender him, saying, "If this trouble has been caused by me, I am ready to appease it at the loss of my life. I never wished to escape to the injury of the least man in the Colony." A storm instantly broke out among the brave, faithful Dutch sailors. Their word had been pledged to save the priest if his foot touched their deck, and cost what it might they would keep their word. Father Jogues would not hear of escaping until the trouble with the savages had been settled. He was taken ashore and hidden in a miserable garret, and for six weeks the negotiations between the Dutch and Indians for his ransom were carried on. Presents of the value of one hundred dollars in gold were finally accepted by the red men. Dominie Megapolensis became indeed the Good Samaritan. He and some of the principal inhabitants insisted on escorting the priest down the river, and their six days' journey was a grand jubilation. The minister showed constant kindness to him. "Especially," relates Father Jogues, "did he insist, when we came to an island to which he wished to give my name. Amid the noise of the cannon and bottles each showed his esteem after his own fashion." Owing to Indian wars, both on the mainland and Long Island shores, wilfully provoked by the Dutch, New Amsterdam was full of refugees crowded around the ramshackle fort and Father Jogues' arrival, and the fact that he was one of the, to their Calvinistic minds, mysterious Jesuits, together with the story of his sufferings, drew nearly the entire population to the fort to see him. As he was leaving the fort one day a young man, employed

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by a merchant of the town, ran to him, fell on his knees, seized the mutilated hands, kissed them and with tears streaming from his eyes, cried, "Martyr of Jesus Christ! Martyr of Jesus Christ!" The humble priest, confused and embarrassed by the demonstration, embraced him affectionately and, inquiring if he was a Calvinist, was told that he was a Polish Lutheran. Passing a house near the fort he glanced in at the open door and was astonished to see on the chimney-breast pictures of the Blessed Virgin and St. Aloysius Gonzaga. He learned on inquiring, that the mistress of the house was the Portuguese Catholic wife of an ensign of the garrison, but unfortunately she knew no language with which Father Jogues was familiar.

It was a great joy to his heart, one day, to have a young Irishman, just landed from a Maryland ship, come to him in the fort and ask permission to approach the tribunal of penance. After hearing his confession he questioned the young sailor about the progress of the Faith in Lord Baltimore's colony and heard the glorious story of the triumphs of the Jesuit Fathers, Andrew White and John Altham, among the red men on the shores of the Chesapeake. The zealous priest learned one secret that saddened his heart. Megapolensis told him that years before he had abandoned the Catholic faith. Father Jogues labored to win him back but could make no impression on him. Bidding the tolerant, kind-hearted Dutchmen of New Amsterdam farewell, and armed with a letter of recommendation from Director-General Kieft he sailed, November 5th, in a little

vessel of fifty tons, for Europe. As the crumbling old fort, with its windmill and flagstaff, and the shabby little huts grew dim and were finally blotted out as the vessel dropped down the bay, a solitary figure stood in the ship's stern, with mutilated priestly hands uplifted in benediction on that community that had been so charitable and merciful to him. God heard Father Jogues' prayer and made this great city what it is—one of the most Catholic cities in the universe and the haven of the oppressed of every clime.

After suffering further hardships and ill-treatment the good priest reached France, and his name was upon every lip. He was bidden to the royal palace of Fontainebleau where the Queen Mother, Anne of Austria, kissed his mutilated hands, but infinitely above all earthly honors he prized and hailed with deepest joy the special dispensation, sent him by the Sovereign Pontiff, to say Mass notwithstanding the mutilation of his hands. "It would be unjust," said the Pope, "that a martyr of Christ should not drink the blood of Christ."

The heart and soul of "Ondessonk," the name given Father Jogues by the Indians, was in the American wilderness, and in the early spring he sailed for Quebec. He remained for two years in Montreal and was sent to the Mohawk country to negotiate a treaty of peace with that nation, and to establish the Mission of the Martyrs. He travelled over the scenes of his torture and on the eve of Corpus Christi reached the foot of Lake George, which he named the Lake of the Blessed Sacrament. He stopped at Fort Orange to express his gratitude to

his Dutch friends and then began his missionary work. In July, 1646, after a visit to Montreal, he returned to his dangerous post with a companion, John Lalande. They were seized, carried to the town of Ossernenon and tortured. On the evening of October 18th, as Father Jogues was entering a lodge, a hatchet was buried in his brain. John Lalande was killed the next day. Their heads were displayed on the palisades of the town and their bodies thrown into the Mohawk River.

At the place of their martyrdom near the village of Auriesville, Montgomery County, New York, the Society of Jesus has acquired considerable land and has built a beautiful shrine and erected the stations of the Cross. Every summer great numbers of the faithful make pilgrimages to the hallowed spot. The third Plenary Council of Baltimore, 1884, formally petitioned the Pope that the cause of canonization of Father Jogues might be introduced.

FATHER ISAAC JOGUES, S.J.

CHAPTER III

IN WHICH AN ENGLISH EARL PALATINE COMES TO NEW AMSTERDAM AND WITH HIS AMAZING CLAIM KINDLES THE WRATH OF WILLIAM THE "TESTY"

ONE day in the autumn of 1643, the flag that was always raised on the flagstaff of Fort Amsterdam when an incoming vessel was sighted, told the people in the little settlement that a ship was coming up the bay. The arrival proved to be from the Virginias. A party was landed at the wharf and sought accommodation in the stone tavern, and next day His Excellency, Governor Kieft, granted an audience to Sir Edmund Plowden, Lord Proprietor, Earl Palatine, Governor and Captain General of New Albion and the Isle of Plowden, or, as they are known to-day, the State of New Jersey, Long Island and all other islands within ten leagues of that region. The Dutch archives are silent concerning that interview, but when the irascible Governor William Kieft was told that the Isle of Plowden was Long Island, and that his visitor claimed it and Manhattan Island as his own, by virtue of a certain charter granted by King Charles I of England under the great seal of Ireland, there was a more violent explosion than could have been produced by all the powder

in the fort's magazine, but although Sir Edmund's conversation was "as sweet and winning, as grave and sober" as was ever English gentlemen's, he was not at all disturbed by the Governor's bombastic bellowings, but protested firmly against the annoyances and the violence to which the Dutch soldiers and settlers on the Delaware subjected the people of his palatinate. He was particularly bitter in his complaints against Governor John Peintz of the Swedish settlements on the Delaware River because of the wrongs inflicted on his colonists.

Like many another Catholic and non-Catholic, driven from his own country by religious persecution, Sir Edmund had found an asylum in Holland, and the gratitude he felt for that shelter in time of need would not permit him to quarrel with the Dutch. He purchased a half interest in a New Amsterdam ship, loaded it with supplies for his settlements, and after a short stay in the Dutch town sailed away for New Albion. He is said to have visited New Amsterdam again during the administration of Governor Stuyvesant.

Robert Evelin, of Wooten, Surrey, England, who was connected with Sir Edmund Plowden in his colonial ventures, explored the coast from Cape May to Manhattan in 1634 and probably landed at New Amsterdam.

Sir Edmund was considerable of a castle builder, and had little idea of the rough and ready life of a colonist in a new country, or of the necessities of government in a colony hewn out of the primeval forest. He spent about eight years getting ready his plans. An Earl

Palatine possessed truly regal powers under the king, and Sir Edmund intended to exercise them. He divided his possessions into Manors and appointed his eldest son and heir, Baron of Mount Royall and Governor, his younger son Baron of Roymont, High Admiral, and his three daughters Baronesses.

There were twenty-three Indian chiefs within the bounds of New Albion, and he instituted an order of chivalry under the title: "The Albion Knights for the conversion of the twenty-three Kings of Charles (Delaware) River," and the Viscounts, Barons, Baronets, Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, adventurers and planters of the Company of New Albion, forty-four in number, were invested with the gorgeous insignia of the order. These forty-four members of the company were pledged to settle three thousand able-bodied men in New Albion, but not more than five hundred ever came. Several books or pamphlets lauding the new land were issued. In 1634 Plowden gave Sir Thomas Danby a lease of ten thousand acres of land on Long Island and near the present site of Salem, New Jersey, with privileges for a "Town and Manor of Danby Fort," provided he would settle one hundred planters in the province, not suffering anyone to live therein who did not believe in or profess the three Christian creeds—the Apostle's, Athanasian and Nicene. All Christians were to be welcomed to New Albion, and those who railed and condemned others because of their religious belief were to be severely punished.

The same year Captain Thomas Yong, of Yorkshire, and his nephew, Robert Evelin, of

Surrey, who has been mentioned as visiting New Amsterdam, voyaged to America and sailed up Delaware Bay and River as far as the present Trenton Falls. Some Indians told them about a great inland sea four days' journey beyond the mountains. They hoped to find an outlet from this sea into the Pacific Ocean that would give them a short passage to China. Disappointed in this they sailed down the river and on its banks built a trading station or fort at " Eriwomeck."

Plowden sailed for his domain and arrived early in 1642. He visited his Manor of Watcessit, near the present site of Salem, and there had one of his officers administer the oath of obedience to him as Governor, to the officers of an English settlement of seventy persons who had come from New Haven Colony. He had completed arrangements with his associates in England to send out shiploads of settlers and supplies and these were to touch the coast at what is now Hampton Roads, therefore he spent much of his time cruising between Watcessit, Accomack and Kecoughtan, Virginia, on the lookout for his ships. On one of these voyages a mutiny broke out and the Captain of the bark, who may have been one of the pirates, so numerous in those days, conspired with the crew to kill Plowden. They concluded not to slay him but to put him ashore on an uninhabited island infested with bears and wolves. As the bark sailed away, after landing the Knight, two young retainers, who knew nothing of the plot, leaped overboard and swam ashore. For four days the three men were without food or shelter. A passing sloop saw their distress signals and

took them to Accomack. Sir Edmund was nearly dead from exposure and hunger. The mutineers put in at Fort Elfsborg, in the Swedish Delaware possessions, and were arrested. The prisoners, bark and cargo were handed over to Plowden after he had paid a heavy bill of expenses to the Swedish Governor, John Peintz, and the traitorous Captain was put to death.

The colony was doomed to failure. Very few ships with settlers arrived, and those that did were refused entrance to the Delaware by Peintz and the Dutch commander. The struggling little settlements that had been started were continually harassed by the Swedes and Dutch. Poor Plowden went to Boston in 1648 and told Governor John Winthrop that he had lost the estate he brought over and that all his people had scattered. His intention was to sail to England for settlers and supplies and to return, provided he could obtain sufficient force to drive out the Swedes.

After a stay of seven years in the new world he went home, but the outbreak of civil war in England thwarted his hopes of success with his colony. It is likely that many of his Catholic colonists sought asylum in the colony of Maryland. There were Catholic Plowdens in that state at a recent date. Sir Edmund died at Wanstead, England, in 1659.

CHAPTER IV

NEW AMSTERDAM AGAIN BECOMES A HAVEN OF REFUGE FOR A JESUIT MISSIONARY TO THE IRIQUOIS

A YEAR after Father Jogues' departure for Europe a sloop sailed down the Hudson and on its deck was another battered and mutilated victim of Indian ferocity, the Jesuit Father, Francis Joseph Bressani. He was born in Rome, Italy, and at the age of fifteen entered the Jesuit novitiate. He spent many years as professor of literature, philosophy and mathematics and finally asked to be sent on the Canadian mission. After laboring for two years among the Algonquins he was ordered to the Huron mission, and in company with a Frenchman and four Indians started on his long journey with a flotilla of Huron canoes. While on Lake St. Peter, the same lake on which Father Jogues was captured, the canoes ran into a Mohawk ambuscade and Father Bressani was taken prisoner. Led to a fishing camp on the banks of the upper Hudson he was compelled to run the gauntlet. His hand was split open between the fingers, several of his fingers were cut off, and his hands and feet were burned twenty-six times. Bruised, bleeding and famished with hunger, he was hurried to the first town on the

Mohawk River. Again cruelly tortured, his left hand was split open, his feet torn and mangled; he was hung up by the feet, then tied on the ground, food was placed on his body and hungry dogs set upon it until they had torn him with their teeth. His wounds, receiving no attention, began to fill with corruption and worms, and he became an object of disgust even to the savages.

"I could not have believed," wrote Father Bressani to his Superior, "that a man was so hard to kill." His frequent thought while under the torture was, "What must Purgatory be?" A council was held to decide his fate and, greatly to his surprise, his life was spared and he was given to an old Indian woman to take the place of a dead relative. Because of his frightful condition the old squaw did not want him and sent him to Fort Orange to be sold to the Dutch. They ransomed him for a large sum and with true Christian kindness nursed him back to health and strength, provided him with clothing, "of which he stood in much need," and sent him to Governor Kieft at New Amsterdam. The Governor received him as kindly and hospitably as he had Father Jogues, and before he sailed for La Rochelle, France, gave him a letter of safe-conduct in which he wrote: "Christian charity requires that he be humanely treated by those into whose hands he may happen to fall. Wherefore we request all Governors, viceroys or their lieutenants and captains that they would afford him their favor in going and returning, promising to do the same on like occasion."

When Father Bressani reached Rome, Pope Innocent X received him as an apostle and

kissed his wounds. Undeterred by his sufferings he returned to Canada a year later and journeyed again to the Huron country. After passing three years among that tribe, he started for Quebec with a party of Hurons, which on the journey was attacked by the Mohawks. The Mohawks were defeated with great slaughter. After a brief rest he journeyed again nine hundred miles into the wilderness, to find that the red terror had broken loose and that bloodshed and destruction were rife. Fathers Daniel, Brebeuf and Lalemant had won martyrs' crowns. He hurried back to Quebec for aid, and a year passed before he could return. On his way he was attacked and wounded by the Iroquois, but, escaping capture, he met a party of Hurons, the sight of whom, and the tidings they bore, caused him greater pain and suffering than Iroquois tortures. They were the first party of Hurons driven from their country by the victorious Iroquois and were seeking safety under the guns of Quebec. They told the harrowing story of the massacre of priests and converts and the destruction of the mission stations. The work established and carried on at such cost of blood, sufferings, labor and treasure was wiped out. The Huron mission was ended. Father Bressani returned to Italy and, after many years of missionary labor, died at Florence in 1672.

CHAPTER V

FATHER SIMON LE MOYNE'S VISIT TO NEW AMSTERDAM AND WHAT HE SAW THERE

Governor Peter Stuyvesant came to New Amsterdam in May, 1647. On the voyage the fleet had taken a Spanish prize and carried its crew to the town on Manhattan Island as prisoners of war. Eight years later Dominie Megapolensis, writing to the Classis of Amsterdam, said: "For we have here Papists, Mennonites and Lutherans among the Dutch." Thirteen years after Father Bressani's visit to New Amsterdam another Catholic priest, the third of whom we have any record, stepped ashore on the wharf at the foot of the present Moore Street. He was the French Jesuit, Father Simon Le Moyne, who came from the North to minister to the few Catholics in New Amsterdam and some French sailors who had recently arrived in the port with a prize. There had been many changes in New Amsterdam since Father Bressani's visit. Governor Willem Kieft and Dominie Bogardus had sailed for Holland in the ship "Princess" in 1647. The ill-fated vessel was wrecked on the coast of Wales and Kieft, Bogardus and eighty-two others perished. The pulpit of the church in the fort was now occupied by Dominie Megapolensis, who had removed

from Rensselaerswyck to New Amsterdam in 1649.

The maimed and pitiable condition of Fathers Jogues and Bressani had touched the heart of the Dominie and he had been to them a good Samaritan, but Father Le Moyne's coming was a different matter entirely. He was a hale, hearty, vigorous Jesuit priest, about fifty-three years of age, visiting the place to discharge the duties of his sacred office, so the Dominie prepared to give him battle, but not in a personally offensive way.

Highly educated men were few in New Amsterdam in those days, and the learned Dominie was so delighted at the arrival of a foeman worthy of his steel, that he first fell on Father Le Moyne's neck and then on his theology, but he quickly found that the learned Jesuit, while always ready to chat with him, declined to be drawn into theological debate.

During the eight days of his stay in New Amsterdam Father Le Moyne visited every part of the little city, for New Amsterdam had been raised to the dignity of a city, and very proud and jealous were its burghers of their rights. The government of Director and Council had given way to the administration of a Schout, whose duties were a combination of Mayor, Sheriff and District Attorney, two Burgomasters and five Schepens, who acted as a Board of Aldermen and sat as a court of justice in civil and criminal actions. But Peter Stuyvesant was a masterful man, a regular " Czar of Moscovy " one of the officials called him, and he was continually interfering in the management of the

city's affairs. This caused considerable friction and trouble.

The first place visited by Father Le Moyne was Fort Amsterdam, little altered since Father Bressani passed through its sally-port, except that the slaves were at work preparing stone for a base wall around it to preserve its earthworks from the depredations of hogs and goats. In the Governor's house Father Le Moyne was presented to the great Stuyvesant, a haughty, determined looking man, a little above the average height but splendidly proportioned. He was of dark complexion, with shaven chin and a very slight mustache shading his lip. A wide shirt collar fell over his velvet coat with slashed sleeves. His very full hose were tied at the knee with a handsome scarf. He had lost a leg in an attack on the Portuguese island of St. Martin thirteen years before, and its wooden substitute was banded with silver, which gave rise to Stuyvesant's nickname " Silver Leg." Father Le Moyne was graciously welcomed by the Governor, who alive to every opportunity to extend the colony's commerce, besought the priest to secure from Governor d'Aillebout, of New France, permission for Dutch vessels to visit the St. Lawrence River for trading purposes. Father Le Moyne promised to act as Stuyvesant's emissary and, shortly after his return to Quebec, secured consent for New Netherland vessels to go to Quebec and trade on the same terms as French ships.

In his walks about the city, Father Le Moyne learned that in the past year the first map of the city had been drawn, showing seventeen

streets, and that the average price of lots was $50. There were one hundred and twenty houses sheltering one thousand people. At this time there were less than seventy houses and four hundred people in Quebec. As he walked down Winckel Straat or the shop street, now Whitehall Street, towards the Strand, Father Le Moyne remarked the number of farmers' wagons filled with country produce of all kinds, and the crowd clustered around them, and was told that the year before the corporation had passed an ordinance providing for holding market every Saturday on the Strand, around the house of Hans Kierstede. Passing into Perel Straat, now Pearl Street, he pursued his way until he reached a bridge at Bridge Street, crossing a stream that flowed into the East River. This stream, it was explained to him, was the drain or ditch for a tract of marshy ground. After a few dwellings had been built on its banks it was called the Heere-Graft or Great Canal. The priest stood on the bridge for a moment to watch three men at work driving heavy planks into the mud banks of the ditch. A few years later this work was finished and the Heere-Graft became one of the most popular thoroughfares in New Amsterdam, with its plank banked canal, its paved street on both sides of the stream and its little Dutch houses. The people loved it because it carried them back in memory to old Holland. It probably made them a trifle homesick. Canals in all cities, except possibly Dutch ones, become the receptacle for the city's refuse. The Heere-Graft, under English masters, proved no exception to this rule

and was filled in. You would scarcely recognize the Heere-Graft in the modern Broad Street. On the other side of the bridge Perel Straat became Hoogh Straat, and a short walk brought the priest to the Stadt-Huys or City Hall, which at the time of Father Jogues' visit was the Harburg or tavern. It was a stone building, fifty feet square, three stories high in the walls with two more stories in the high pitched roof. He entered the imposing court room and looked with interest on the arms of New Amsterdam painted in glowing colors on the window panes; on the arms of the city, painted in old Holland, hanging over the justice's cushioned bench, flanked with the orange, white and blue flag of the Dutch West India Company and the red, white and blue colors of the Netherlands.

Leaving the court room he entered the school room, in the same building, and at a sign from Schoolmaster Harmanus Van Hoboken, who was also chorister and sexton of the church in the fort, the healthy looking, tow-headed youngsters arose, bowed and smiled at the visitor, who bowed and smiled back at them. Out into the air again where the waters of the East River, flashing in the sunlight, dazzled his eyes for a moment, he walked to the shore and saw the recently completed public improvement, the "Shoeinge," which consisted of heavy planking stuck on end into the mud at the water's edge and filled in behind with earth and rubbish to protect the shore from the encroachments of the river during storms and high tides. It took three years' time and all kinds of threats and penalties to compel the property owners along

the river bank to do the planking, and when it was finished they all wondered why they had not done it long before. The Shoeinge extended from Broad to Wall Street.

Continuing north along the Shoeinge Father Le Moyne came to T'Water Poort or Water Gate, a large gate in a wooden stockade that stretched across the island from river to river, a distance of 2,340 feet. Three years previous there was serious trouble between New England and New Netherland, and the New Netherlanders feared that the New Englanders would attack New Amsterdam from the land side, or north, so they decided to put up a palisade. Planks, twelve feet high, pointed at the tops, were driven three feet into the ground and every thirteen feet posts seven inches thick were driven, to which were nailed split rails to give the palisade stability. Behind it a breastwork of earth four feet high and three feet at the top was thrown up and a ditch two feet wide and two feet deep dug. When this work was finished and the Dutchmen mounted the breastwork and peeped out over the palisade, they felt that New Amsterdam was safe even if every Puritan and Indian in New England came to attack it. When Father Le Moyne looked north over the wall his eyes rested on a few farm houses in clearings and the green trees of the forest. The only sounds he heard were the voices and laughter of the women washing clothes in the stream that ran through a beautiful little valley known as "Maagte paetje," Maiden's Path, or, as we know its successor to-day, Maiden Lane.

He continued his walk along the breastwork,

passing the few buildings or hovels, most of them occupied as tap houses or taverns, until he reached the Land Gate, across the Heere Straat, and stood on the corner of what is now Broadway and Wall Street. A road led north past the Common on which now stand the Post Office, City Hall and other public buildings, and then turned northeast, following the line of Park Row to the bouweries or farms, at what is now Chatham Square and beyond. Passing down Heere Straat on his right near the wall were the public orchard and garden. Next to them several substantial houses with large gardens extending to the North River, which in those days flowed to about the line of the present Church Street. The principal building, of stone, was the home of that bluff sea captain, Burgomaster Paulus Leedertsen Van der Grift. The ground rose south of Van der Grift's house, and on an eminence was the first burial ground, with a frontage of nearly two hundred feet on the street. Next came three or four small houses of unpretentious appearance. On the eastern side of the street were much poorer dwellings, many of them mere frame hovels, with roofs thatched with straw or rushes, and chimneys of wood, plastered with mortar; but every home, however humble, had its garden, a mass of glowing colors in the season of flowers, that extended back two hundred and fifty feet to the Heere Graft.

He finally reached the Parade. On its western side were two popular taverns, one of them Captain Martin Cregier's, a very important personage in his day. The fashionable

store came next, then the residence of the Provincial Secretary and the parsonage of Dominie Megapolensis; all good, substantial buildings. When Father Le Moyne called at the parsonage to pay his respects to the Dominie and to thank him for the kindness he had extended to members of the Society of Jesus, it was but natural that the minister should seek to learn something of the life of his priestly guest.

Father Le Moyne had entered the Society of Jesus at nineteen, and had come to New France in 1638. He was the first priest to open the mission among the Mohawk and Onondaga Nations. In 1654, the Iroquois wanted peace with the French, and in July of that year, Father Le Moyne visited the Onondaga castle of the Iroquois and addressed a great council of the Indians. His sixteen years among the red men had not been passed in vain. He had mastered their language and every trick of their oratory, and in the long speech he made he presented to them nineteen wampum belts. His speech was a triumph, and the chiefs begged him to select a spot on the banks of beautiful Lake Ganentaa for a French settlement. During his stay of ten days at Onondaga, he discovered the rich salt springs. These springs are owned by the State and seven million bushels of salt a year have been produced from them. The French settlement at Lake Ganentaa flourished for a while, but it was discovered that the treacherous Onondagas were conspiring to massacre the settlers, and they abandoned the place and escaped by a ruse. Acting Governor d'Ailleboust, of New France, in retaliation for the treach-

ery of the Indians, seized every Iroquois Indian in Canada. These events closed the Iroquois mission field for the time, and Father Le Moyne took advantage of the opportunity to visit Rensselaerswyck and New Amsterdam. His missionary work completed, he bade adieu to his New Amsterdam friends and took passage on a sloop for Fort Orange.

The next sloop that left Fort Orange for New Amsterdam carried a packet of manuscript from Father Le Moyne, who, having in mind the perversion of Dominie Megapolensis, wrote to his Calvinist friend that: "Christ hanging on the wood of the cross was still ready to receive his repentance or conversion." Accompanying this epistle were three essays: I. "On the Succession of the Popes." II. "On the Council." III "On Heretics." You can picture to yourselves into what condition this adjuration threw the Dominie. He locked himself in his study for days, consulted with his learned co-laborer, Dominie Drisius, for hours, and the result was a formidable packet for Father Le Moyne, handed to the skipper of the first vessel that sailed to Quebec. The vessel was wrecked on the voyage and the reply never reached Father Le Moyne. In a letter to his Classis, in 1657, Dominie Megapolensis wrote concerning Father Le Moyne:

"This Simon Le Moyne has been with the Indians from the Indian country several times at Fort Orange. At last he came here to the Manhattans without doubt on account of the Papists residing here, and especially for the accommodation of the French sailors who are

Papists, and who have arrived here with a good prize."

As Father Le Moyne came to New Amsterdam for the purpose of ministering to the faithful, it is probable that he brought with him the traveling chapel usually carried by the missionaries, and, if so, that he offered the Holy Sacrifice on the French ship and probably in the city. When Father Le Moyne reached Quebec, he was successful in securing permission for Dutch vessels to trade on the St. Lawrence River, and, under date, April 7th, 1658, sent the permit and wrote Governor Stuyvesant as follows:

"Very Illustrious Sir:—I send you with my love a letter received in Quebec, which though written in French is sincere and friendly. He who signed his name to it, a very noble and also learned man, Lord Daillebout, did not wish, I think, to write in Latin, because perhaps more among you know French, than Latin, anyway because it treats of a matter concerning the French and those who love the French only.

Furthermore he wrote it, who to-day acts as the deputy of our absent Viceroy and who some time was himself Viceroy.

May it therefore bring happy, beneficial and fortunate results. Dear friends of the Manhattans draw your furrow through the sea to our Quebec and some time hereafter our Canadians will unexpectedly with God's guidance safely reach your shores. Although it is not in my power to make, as I hoped to voyage with you, for I have my forest boatmen with me; yet at some future day I promise to be your guest and servant. Even though my pen may have taken some liberties, overlook them, if you please, Illustrious Sir and take this letter as an assured testimony of my regard for the Dutch, and my love for you, with which I am

Illustrious Sir

Your most faithful and obedient servant,

Simon Le Moyne, S.J.

In September of the same year Dominies Megapolensis and Drisius joined in a letter to

the Classis of Amsterdam and the writer, Megapolensis, told in detail of the coming of the three Jesuits, Fathers Jogues, Bressani, and Le Moyne to New Amsterdam. In this letter he mentions that the Mohawks, after putting Father Jogues to death, presented Megapolensis with his missal, breviary and clothing. Writing of Father Bressani, Megapolensis said:

"He wrote me a letter as the previous mentioned one (Jogues) had done, thanking me for the benefits I had conferred on him. He stated also that he had not argued, when with me, on the subject of religion, yet he had felt deeply interested in me on account of my favors to him; that he was anxious for the life of my soul, and admonished me to come again into the Papal Church from which I had separated myself. In each case I returned such a reply that a second letter was never sent me."

Concerning Father Le Moyne, the letter reads in part that the priest told him of his discovery in the northern wilds, of the salt springs, of an oil spring and a spring of hot sulphurous water. "Whether all this is true," wrote the Dominie, "or a mere Jesuit lie, I will not decide."

Father Le Moyne died at Cap de la Magdelaine, November 24th, 1665.

A crowded conventicle in a Dutch church in the city was amazed and startled one day at seeing an Indian chief, a splendid specimen of manhood, clad in barbaric magnificence, the rosary around his neck with its crucifix resting on his chest the only incongruity in his attire, stride with dignity to the space in front of the pulpit. There was a pause in the service and the

Indian, kneeling, made the sign of the cross and "offered prayer to God" in the words the Jesuits had taught him. The minister interrupted the Chief's devotions and bade him withdraw. In a loud voice the Chief answered: "Wait, I have not yet finished my prayer. You make it easily seen that you are not Christians, for you do not love prayer."

The Indian was Daniel Garakonthié, "The Sun Who Walks," a great chief, orator of the Onondaga nation. Efforts had been made by some Dutch settlers near the Onondagas to proselytize the Catholic Indians, and, when persuasion had failed, the converts were warned not to carry their rosaries and crucifixes with them to New York. Garakonthié's appearance in the conventicle was his profession of faith prompted by these warnings. On another of his trading or ambassadorial visits to the city he was asked by some Protestants if he were still a Christian. "He replied boldly," says the Jesuit Relation of 1679, "that his faith would last as long as his life. They were so edified by his reply that they praised his constancy, and even exhorted him to persevere until death. That grace was vouchsafed him by Our Lord."

In the northern wilderness, not far from the Onondaga's Castle, in 1661, Father Simon Le Moyne met Garakonthié and a band of his red men. A friendship was born between the priest and the savage at that meeting that grew into a deep brotherly love. In the council that followed at the Castle, Garakonthié was appointed chief of an embassy that went to Mon-

treal. In the delicate negotiations that followed he displayed such wisdom and ability as to win for him the admiration and respect of the authorities of New France, and they found in Garakonthié a constant and sincere friend. On his return to the Onondaga country he secured the release of all French prisoners. Again in 1663 he gathered all the captives in the Onondaga canton and sent them to Quebec. In this way he saved twenty-six Frenchmen by ransom from fiery death, sheltered, fed, and clothed them, and saved the lives of sixty others by secret warnings of danger. Two years later he headed delegations from the Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca nations that visited Governor de Tracy at Quebec. His apostrophe to the memory of his old friend, Father Le Moyne, is a most touching specimen of Indian eloquence. Father Julian Garnier was the missionary to the Onondagas in 1668, and Garakonthié built a cabin and chapel for him.

An outbreak of hostilities between the Iroquois nations and the Ottawas threatened a widespread and bloody war in 1670. Through the eloquence and labor of Garakonthié all the chiefs of both nations met in council at Quebec for the purpose of cementing a peace. At a session of the council Garakonthié addressed the great assemblage and declared himself a worshiper of Jesus Christ. Bishop Laval was present, and, turning to him, Garakonthié asked for baptism. Governor de Courcelles and Mademoiselle de Bouterouë, a daughter of the Intendant, acting as sponsors. He was named Daniel. Despite his advanced years, he learned

to read and write French. He died an edifying death in 1675.

In the records of New Netherland, there is but one instance of a Catholic suffering for conscience' sake, and he did not suffer very severely or because he was a Catholic *per se*. In 1658 one Nicholas, a Frenchman, was brought before the court and charged by the sheriff of Breukelen (Brooklyn) with refusing to contribute to the support of the Dutch minister. He "insolently pleaded the frivolous excuse" that he was a Catholic. He was, thereupon, fined twelve guilders.

In no time or place in the world's history can there be found a braver, better, or more picturesque race of men than the French Canadians of old. One of them, a dashing, handsome young man, about twenty years of age, the forerunner of a host who visited New York, stepped from a boat one day in 1662 or 1663 and walked right into the hearts of every man, woman, and child in New Amsterdam. A splendid specimen of manhood, save that a finger was scarred and disfigured and he was minus a thumb that he had lost a short time before under torture while a prisoner in the hands of the ferocious Mohawks. He returned to Canada by way of Fort Orange, New Amsterdam, and Port Royal. He was François Hertel, the son of James Hertel, of Fécamp, Normandy, and of Mary Marquerie. Father Charlevoix, S.J., in his "History of New France," says of Hertel, he, "sanctified his captivity by a great innocence, perfect resignation to the orders of heaven and practices of piety, which inspired the respect even

of his enemies." While in the hands of the Indians he wrote the two following letters on birch bark. The first to Father Le Moyne, the other to his mother:

My Reverend Father:—The very day when you left Three Rivers I was captured, at about three in the afternoon by four Iroquois of the Mohawk tribe. I would not have been taken alive, if, to my sorrow, I had not feared that I was not in a fit state to die. If you came here, my Father, I could have the happiness of confessing to you: and I do not think they would do any harm; and I think that I could return home with you; I pray you to pity my poor mother, who is in great trouble. You know, my Father, how fond she is of me. I have heard from a Frenchman, who was taken at Three Rivers on the 1st of August, that she is well, and comforts herself with the hope that I shall see you. There are three of us Frenchmen alive here. I commend myself to your good prayers and particularly to the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. I pray you, my Father, to say a mass for me. I pray you give my dutiful love to my poor mother, and console her, if it pleases you.

My Father, I beg your blessing on the hand that writes to you, which has one of the fingers burned in the bowl of an Indian pipe, to satisfy the Majesty of God which I have offended. The thumb of the other hand is cut off; but do not tell my mother of it.

My Father, I pray you to honor me with a word from your hand in reply, and tell me you shall come here before winter.

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

François Hertel.

My Most Dear and Honored Mother:—I know very well that my capture must have distressed you very much. I ask you to forgive my disobedience. It is my sins that have placed me where I am. I owe my life to your prayers and those of M. de Saint-Quentin, and of my sisters. I hope to see you again before winter. I pray you to tell the good brethren of Notre Dame to pray to God and the Holy Virgin for me, my dear mother, and for you and all my sisters.

Your poor

Fanchon.

In 1666 Hertel wrote to a friend in Albany a very interesting letter telling his experiences since leaving New Netherland, informing him of his marriage and mentioning the names of many Dutch friends to whom he sent his love.

Twenty-four years after he appears in another character. Governor Frontenac, in 1690, sent three parties of French and Indians into New England to devastate it with fire and sword. Hertel in command of the Three Rivers Militia, consisting of fifty-two men, and accompanied by his three sons and two nephews, surprised the settlement at Salmon Falls. Thirty persons were shot or tomahawked, fifty-four, mostly women or children, taken prisoners, and two thousand heads of cattle and a number of houses and barns burned. Piscataqua sent out a body of two hundred and forty men against the Canadians. The parties met at a narrow bridge over the Wooster River and Hertel held the enemy in check until his force could continue its retreat in safety. Later in the year he joined in the attack on Casco (Portland), and for valorous conduct, during the attack of Phips on Quebec, was ennobled by the French king. In 1703 five of Hertel's sons led the attack on Deerfield, killing thirty-five of the settlers and taking many prisoners to New France.

François Hertel, Sieur de Chambly, died May 29th, 1722, in his eightieth year. Of him Francis Parkman says, in his "Old Régime in Canada," "To the New England of old he was the abhorred chief of Popish malignants and murdering savages. The New England of to-

day will be more just to the brave defender of his country and his faith."

The English always claimed New Netherland because Cabot, the younger, was said to have crossed its latitude somewhere out in the ocean, and when Charles II ascended the throne of England, he granted to his brother, the Duke of York, large tracts of territory along the Atlantic coast including the Dutch possessions. Governor Stuyvesant had, in 1664, one hundred and fifty soldiers and two hundred and fifty citizens, capable of bearing arms, in New Amsterdam. The fort mounted twenty guns and was insufficiently supplied with ammunition. There had been peace between England and the Netherlands for ten years but, one day in August, four frigates, carrying one hundred and twenty guns with five hundred British regulars, later reinforced with about five hundred New England volunteers, sailed up the bay and demanded the surrender of the little Dutch city. Stuyvesant was ready to resist, but there was great disaffection among the inhabitants. Two British frigates sailed past the fort while the gunners stood with lighted matches waiting the order to fire. Dominie Johannes Megapolensis and his son Samuel, a clergyman also, approached Stuyvesant and the former said to him:

"Of what avail are our poor guns against that broadside of more than sixty? It is wrong to shed blood to no purpose."

Overwhelmed with protests against resistance Stuyvesant surrendered September 3rd. The British flag was raised over the fort which be-

came Fort James and New Amsterdam became New York.

In 1665 Father Peter Smith was in the city, but there is no record of the length of his stay or his mission.

When the news of the capitulation of New Amsterdam reached the Netherlands there was an outburst of indignation both in State and Church, and for a long time Stuyvesant and Megapolensis were in deep disgrace. The Directors of the West India Company in 1666 censured Stuyvesant severely for his conduct:

"It is an act that can never be justified, that a Director-General shall stand looking between the gabions whilst two hostile frigates pass the fort and the mouths of twenty pieces of cannon, among which were several demi-cartoons, and give no order to prevent it; but, on the contrary, lending an ear to preachers and other chicken-hearted persons, demeaning himself as if he were willing to fire, yet notwithstanding allow himself to be led in from the bulwark between the preachers. . . ."

Dominie Megapolensis, in August, 1666, wrote a defense of his action, at the time of the surrender, to the Classis of Amsterdam and requested "certain back payments due to his Rev. but which still remain unpaid by the Hon. West India Company." In the following December the Dominie's request was rejected "until his Rev. shall give further satisfaction concerning the events at the surrender of New Netherland to the English."

In April, 1669, the Dominie wrote to the Classis of Amsterdam:

"The West India Company unjustly withhold two thousand florins, justly owing me for salary and due to me before the change of government by the surrender of the place to the English. . . . I trust that God, who has hitherto taken care of me from my youth, when I relinquished Popery, and was thrust out at once from my inherited estate, will also henceforth take care of me during the short remainder of my life. I am now sixty-five years old and have been a preacher about forty years. Of this time I have been twenty-seven years here and the remainder in North Holland."

Notwithstanding a certificate as to the Dutch loyalty of Dominie Johannes Megapolensis, given him by the former Dutch officials, it is evident his Classis still regarded him with disfavor. "They falsely accuse me," he wrote, "of treachery, of which they say I was guilty at the surrender of the English. But how wrongly I was accused of this, your Reverences have been able to understand, by the defense which I sent you in my reply. . . ."

"On Sundays we have many hearers. People crowd into the church, and apparently like the sermon; but most of the listeners are not inclined to contribute to the support and salary of the preacher. They seem to desire, that we should live upon air and not upon produce." Poor Dominie Megapolensis, shorn of influence, old friends and salary, died in New York, January 14th, 1670.

The English held New York for nine years. In 1672 England declared war against Holland, and in the following year a squadron of five

Dutch warships sailed up the bay and opened a heavy cannonade against the fort. As a result the Dutch tricolor floated again over the fort and city.

CHAPTER VI

NEW YORK'S FIRST CATHOLIC RULER FINDS HIMSELF ENMESHED IN DIFFICULTIES

THE Dutch warship "Muyall Tromp" sailed up the bay October 15th, 1674, and dropped anchor off Staten Island. A boat was lowered, an officer took his place in the stern and was rowed up to the city. He entered the fort and was closeted for a long time with Governor Anthony Colve. At the conclusion of the conference messengers were hurried through the city to summon the burgomasters and schepens to a special council.

At the meeting the Governor confirmed news that had reached the city in June. By a treaty, signed at Westminster, in February, the Dutch had ceded New Netherland to the English. One week after the meeting the British frigates "Diamond" and "Castle" entered the bay and anchored near the shore. The bulwarks of the ships were lined with English soldiers who gazed with interest at the wooded shores of Staten and Long Islands, brilliant in autumn foliage, and at the sparkling waters of the great bay. Quite as much interest in the scene was manifested by the brilliantly attired group of men and women on the after deck of the "Diamond."

The foremost personage of the gay company

was the new Governor of New York, Sir Edmund Andros, a handsome man of thirty-seven years, brought up in the King's household, a brave soldier and an able statesman. Beside him stood his young wife, Lady Mary. When King Charles had signed a new patent, reaffirming the title of his brother James, Duke of York, in his American possessions he had authorized him to raise a company of infantry of one hundred men to serve in his province. Sir Edmund, their captain, was surrounded by his officers, First Lieutenant Anthony Brockholls, Second Lieutenant Christopher Billop, and Ensign Caesar Knapton. In the group were Captain Philip Carteret, Captain John Manning, who had surrendered New York to Colve the previous year, the Reverend Nicholas Van Rensselaer and a number of colonial officials and gentlemen adventurers. The Governor dispatched Captain Carteret and Ensign Knapton to the fort in the city bearing the orders of the States-General of the United Netherlands for the surrender.

In due time a boat came down the bay and Captain Carl Epstein and Lieutenant Carl Quirrynse boarded the "Diamond" and expressed Governor Colve's regret at his inability to formally hand over the government for eight days. Andros fumed over the delay, but the English remained cooped up in their ships in the bay. When the eight days had lengthened to twelve a delegation of eminent merchants, Colonial Councilor Cornelis Steenwyck, Burgomasters Johannes Van Brug and Willem Beekman, visited the "Diamond" and welcomed Governor Andros. A week later there was an affecting

scene enacted in the Stadt Huys. Governor Colve solemnly absolved the Dutch inhabitants of the province from their allegiance to their High Mightynesses, the States-General, and His Serene Highness, the Prince of Orange.

On October 31st, 1674, a long line of barges moved up the bay from the English vessels to the water gate of the fort, and to the thunder of cannon the Dutch flag was lowered and the English flag hoisted in its place.

The province was formally handed over to Governor Andros, and Governor Colve, after graciously presenting his coach and horses to his successor, embarked on a Dutch warship and sailed away. So ended Dutch sovereignty over the western metropolis. Unto this day, despite years of English rule and the fact that the teeming population of the city is made up of men from every clime under the sun, there is much about New York that evidences its Dutch origin and rule, and although we may be alien to the Hollander in blood and creed, we have in our hearts an affection for him and for his record in the city he founded and fostered. He left us a goodly inheritance.

At the time Andros landed in New York, as he renamed the city, Catholics were not popular in old England. In 1673 a measure known as the Test Act had been passed requiring all persons holding civil or military office in England, Wales and the Channel Islands to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy of the King in all matters; publicly to receive the sacrament, as they called it, of the Lord's Supper, according to the usage of the Protestant Church of England and to

sign a declaration against that doctrine most dear to the Catholic heart—Transubstantiation. James, Duke of York, the proprietor of the province of New York, a gallant sailor and able statesman, was Charles' successor to the English throne. He was a convert to the Faith, but for reasons of state had not publicly announced his conversion. The English Protestants did not want a Catholic King, and suspecting that James had embraced the Faith directed the Test Act against him. Then with manly candor James openly professed his faith and resigned all his offices under the Crown, including that of Lord High Admiral of England. With a true Christian spirit he gave, in his instructions to Governor Andros, the following order concerning religion in his possessions:

"You shall permit all persons of what religion soever, quietly to inhabit within the precincts of your jurisdiction, without giving them any disturbance or disquiet whatsoever, for or by reason of their differing opinions in the matter of religion; Provided they give no disturbance to the public peace nor do molest or disquiet others in the free exercise of their religion."

The second in command under Andros was First Lieutenant Anthony Brockholls. Lieutenant Brockholls was a native of Claughton in Lancashire, England. He was of a Catholic family that had its seat in the place for centuries. The Test Act, which would have excluded him from public employment in England, was not operative in the colonies. The Governor and his household made the old residence in the fort their home, and the soldiers were quartered in the

barracks vacated by the Dutch. Owing to lack of room in the fort the officers found accommodation in the ancient stone warehouse erected by the Dutch West India Company, which had been renovated for their occupancy. With but little disturbance the city accepted the change of masters, although Andros was compelled to arrest eight of the prominent citizens on a charge of treason for quibbling over the oath of allegiance. On November 10th a Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriff were sworn in. In May of the following year Andros left New York to visit the Duke's possessions on the Delaware River, and Brockholls administered the government as Commander-in-Chief, and filled the same office in August during the absence of Andros in Albany. In July both, with a retinue of officers and soldiers, made a tour of Long Island on horseback for the purpose of disarming the Indians, who threatened trouble; of reviewing the militia; restoring quiet, and reasserting the Duke's authority in the eighteen settlements on the island. Companies of individuals had crossed the Sound from New England and had settled wherever a suitable place was decided on. They were not under the control of any colonial government nor had they any political relationship with one another. On one question they agreed—that no one should be considered a free man or allowed to vote unless he was one of "God's Elect," in other words, a member of one of the New England Puritan Churches. The only code they recognized was the Mosaic law, and they held that all civil as well as religious authority resided, of right, in the Church.

Every settlement had its infallible and sovereign pontiff in its minister, and of one of them —the Rev. Thomas James, pastor of Easthampton from 1650 to 1696—it is written:

"He was not to be stayed by any man so but that his grain should be first ground at the mill on the second day of every week." Woe betide the man who crossed the Reverend Mr. James in things temporal or spiritual.

During the Dutch ascendency Southold, Southampton, Easthampton and other towns had placed themselves under the protection of Connecticut, and when New York was restored to the English they petitioned for continued protection, and the General Court at New Haven granted the petition; but Governor Andros was not willing to be legislated out of such a slice of his master's possessions and promptly ordered the towns to restore the Duke's overseers and constables "under the penalty of being declared rebels." They failed to obey, the court was not allowed to hold sessions on the island, and Andros the following spring, crossed the East River to bring the discontented Long Islanders into subjection to the law. Discontent had been rife there during the administrations of his predecessors and continued during and after his term of office.

The Jesuit Father Pierson, or Pierron, visited the English colonies along the Atlantic seaboard in 1674, and, no, doubt, passed through New York.

In October Brockholls was sent up the Hudson River to take command in Albany. The Canadians and eastern Indians had been murder-

ing settlers and burning settlements, and Hadley, Deerfield, Northfield, and Springfield had been destroyed. Brockholls' mission was to negotiate with the Iroquois to attack the eastern Indians. A large band of Mohawks took the warpath, and fifty miles east of Albany attacked and drove back Philip, Sachem of the Wampanoags, a son of the great Chief Massasoit. Poor Philip! He was killed the following year. His mangled right hand was exhibited for money to "New England curiosity," and his braves, who were not hanged, were sold into slavery in the West Indies. Even the grandson of the Chief, who was an early friend of the New Englanders, "was made a victim of Puritan avarice."

The Indian troubles settled, Brockholls returned to New York and, a year later, with Ensign Knapton and Colonial Secretary Nicolls sailed for Pemaquid in command of a little squadron of four sloops, carrying one hundred soldiers and a framed blockhouse or redoubt. Pemaquid, which was a part of the Duke of York's possessions, was under the New York government and formed that part of the present State of Maine lying along the coast between the Kennebec and St. Croix Rivers. It had suffered severely during the Indian troubles, and the expedition had been sent to reassert the Duke's authority and to reëstablish trade. A suitable place was found, the redoubt brought from New York was set up, surrounded by a high stockade, and seven great and small guns were mounted. With the firing of cannon the English flag was raised, and the work was

named Fort Charles in honor of the King. This was the principal trading post, and Ensign Knapton was left in command with a garrison of fifty soldiers.

In 1674 the authorities of the city were called upon to sit in judgment on the first case involving crimes against alien freemen that are a foul blot upon the pages of the city's history. William Corvan, a mulatto freeman of the island of Martinique, was kidnapped and carried to Boston. Friendless and penniless, he was compelled to bind himself as a servant to one Thomas Thatcher for a term of seven years. During the term of his indenture Thatcher claimed him as a slave and carried him to New York city. Corvan appealed to the New York authorities and an order issued that Thatcher must prove Corvan a slave within eight days, or enter security in £100 to prove him so within twelve months, otherwise,—" said mulatto shall be declared free."

In the autumn of 1677 Andros sailed for England, leaving Brockholls in command. During that fall and winter he was a busy man. The fort in New York was strengthened and the worn-out gun platforms renewed. There were weekly meetings of the colonial council, visiting delegations of settlers with complaints and petitions, and long drawn out pow-wows with visiting bands of Indian chiefs. In addition there was correspondence with Governor Frontenac at Quebec, Governor Leverett of Massachusetts, Commander Knapton at Pemaquid, Commander Salisbury at Albany, and the Jesuit Father Bruyas in the Mohawks' country. One day a

messenger came up from Sandy Hook with a request from Captain Bernard Le Moine of the French warship " Golden Fleece " that he be permitted to take his ship up the bay for wood and other supplies. The council graciously accorded permission, and the coming of the French officers created a stir in the social circles of the fort and town.

As a result of the warfare along the borders, there were French prisoners in New York and New England, and English prisoners in New France. Exchanges were occasionally arranged and in May, 1678, Messieurs Lusignan and De la Chambre, the latter of Governor Frontenac's guards, arrived in Albany escorting a company of exchanged New England prisoners, taken in an attack by French and Indians on Hatfield and Hadley. The French officers, bearing a letter from Governor Frontenac to Commander Brockholls, thanking him for past civilities, voyaged down the Hudson to New York city. They remained as Brockholls' guests until June and returned to Albany in a birch-bark canoe bearing Brockholls' answer to the Governor of New France. The enslaving of Indians had become a crying outrage, and in 1679 the colonial council adopted the following resolution: " That all Indians are free and not slaves, and cannot be forced to be servants, unless those formerly brought from the Bay of Campeches or other foreign parts; any of those brought within six months to be disposed out of the government, all brought from foreign parts after that time to be free." The following year an order was issued declaring all Indians free.

In May, Andros returned. With him came William Pinhorne, James Graham and John West, who became prominent men in the colony, and the Reverend James Wooley as chaplain of the forces in the fort. Commander Salisbury had died in Albany during the winter, and Brockholls was ordered up the river to succeed him. With John Pynchon, the representative of Massachusetts, and the Albany officials, he took part in a conference with the Mohawk Indian Sachems, at which, with much peace-pipe smoking, burying of tomahawks, and presenting of wampum belts, a treaty of friendship was entered into between the Mohawks and New Englanders.

Public affairs, however, did not occupy all the commandant's time.

An Albany maiden, Susanna Schrick, had attracted his attention, and admiration had deepened into love. Susanna Schrick was the daughter of Paulus Schrick, a native of Nuremberg. He was one of the little colony from New Netherland that had settled Hartford, Conn., before the coming of the English. He was a property owner in Pearl Street, New Amsterdam, and a free trader between New Amsterdam, Albany and Holland. The course of true love was interrupted by a summons to Brockholls to hasten to New York to relieve Governor Andros who had been ordered to England to answer charges.

Complaints of ill-treatment and oppression by the proprietors of East and West Jersey were followed by insinuations that the Dutch were favored in trade, laws hurtful to the English were enacted, vessels were unduly detained for

private reasons, and that the Governor himself traded in the names of others. John Lewin was sent out by the Duke as his agent to investigate the affairs of the colony. Andros sailed from Sandy Hook in January, 1681, and before his ship sighted the shores of England Brockholls was enmeshed in a tangle of troubles.

In 1677 the Duke of York settled for the three coming years the same rates of custom duties as prevailed during the three preceding years. The three years expired just as Governor Andros was preparing to leave for England, and in the hurry of departure he forgot to provide for an extension. Brockholls and the council decided that they had no authority to further extend the operation of the law and the greatest confusion resulted. Suit was instituted by the merchants against Collector Dyer, who was also mayor of the city, for detaining goods for custom duties, and he was compelled to deliver them free. In addition to this he was indicted for high treason for levying duties and thereby "traitorously exercising regal power and authority over the king's subjects." He pleaded not guilty, and refused to surrender the seal of the city and his commission as mayor. He was finally sent to England to be dealt with by the king. From all parts of the Duke's province arose a clamor for a provincial assembly. In August a commission arrived from London, appointing Brockholls Receiver-General in place of Dyer. The merchants still refused to pay the duties, and Brockholls took no measures to coerce them. He wrote to Andros:

"Here it was never worse. A government

wholly overthrown and in the greatest Confusion and Disorder Possible."

Discontent became something akin to anarchy on Long Island. Disorderly meetings were held. Two prominent justices of the peace were arrested for disaffection to the government, and troubles between ministers and their congregations on Long Island, Staten Island and in Albany were carried to the distracted Commander-in-Chief, who, nevertheless, found time amidst all his perplexities to marry Susanna Schrick, May 2nd, 1681. The five children resulting from this union were all baptized in the Dutch Reformed Church, of which Mrs. Brockholls was a member.

There is an interesting incident chronicled in the old Albany records, which, while it did not occur in New York, is significant of the time:

"December, 1681. The sheriff, ex-officio, claims of Jan Van Loon *f*800 Seawan for a fine having greatly upbraided and injured Marten Cornelis, who had changed the Roman Catholic religion for the Protestant, and calumniated the Protestant church itself by saying among other things to Marten that he had turned from God to the devil." Poor Marten Cornelis! He was one of the vanguard of the mighty and, at that time, ever increasing army of apostasy. The lack of priests, the allurements of the world, and many other causes had combined to win tens of thousands from the Faith. God rest good, sturdy, brave, old Catholic Jan Van Loon! In that stronghold of Calvinism he kept the Faith and fought the good fight and, almost alone as

he was, did not hesitate to express his opinion of Marten the apostate.

During the year 1681 troubles arose in every quarter. Lady Carteret claimed Staten Island as part of the Jersey grant, and Brockholls sternly resisted her claim. Dissensions and disturbances were rife in Esopus and Albany and on Long Island. Connecticut claimed New York territory to within ten miles of the Hudson River. Even the sea contributed its share of trouble in the shape of pirates. One John Williams captured a ketch, a vessel resembling a schooner, from the Spaniards in Cuba. He renamed her "Ruth," and, turning pirate, sailed for the English colonies. He committed depredations in the vicinity of Accomac, Virginia, and made a bold attempt to kidnap no less a personage than Lord Baltimore, to hold him for a big ransom. Joined by another piratical sloop, the "William," he sailed for the east end of Long Island and captured several vessels. Tidings of his lawless acts reached the fort in New York and Brockholls directed that efforts be made to capture all pirates on the coast, and that they be sent to New York. The sloop "Planter's Adventure" was hastily armed and sent on a cruise against them. The authorities of Rhode Island and Connecticut were aroused and capturing two of the pirates sent them to Sir Henry Chicheley, Deputy Governor of Virginia, to be punished for their crimes. For a time piracy became unpopular as a means of livelihood. Two years prior to this time King Charles II had granted to William Penn, a Quaker, son of Admiral Sir William Penn, an immense region

north of Maryland, which was named Pennsylvania. Penn was always scheming to add to his possessions and he induced the Duke of York, in 1682, to convey to him his interest in Delaware. He sailed at once for New York, and was received in the fort by Commander Brockholls, who inspected his deeds from the Duke, and, finding them correct, instructed the Duke's officers in the Delaware to recognize and obey the new proprietor.

From New France came Sieur Peter de Salvaye, an envoy from Governor Lefebvre de la Barre, with a complaint. In spite of the efforts of the Canadian government the fur trade was attracted from Montreal to Albany, because the traders could obtain better prices for the peltries in the latter place. Sixty Canadians had moved over the border. Sieur de Salvaye had come to ask Brockholls to prevent such desertions. He was assured that Governor Andros had made every effort to prevent runaways from entering New York without a proper passport.

In a letter to the Classis of Amsterdam, in October, 1682, Dominie Henry Selyns wrote concerning the Catholics: "As to papists, there are none; or if there are any they attend our services or that of the Lutherans," which would indicate that Commander Brockholls' Catholicity at that time was not aggressively evident.

Many improvements were made under Andros and Brockholls in New York. The Heere-Graft, was no more. Its waterway had been filled in, and the tan pits on its banks, between what

are now Beaver Street and Exchange Place, had shared the same fate. The old Dutch churchyard on the west side of Broadway had been sold off in building lots. The ordinance providing for the digging of the first public wells in the center of certain streets is quaint: "Ordered that wells be made by the inhabitants of the streets, where they are severally made: One in Broadway, opposite Van Dyck's; one in the street opposite Derick Smith's; one in the street opposite John Cavalier's; one in the yard of the City Hall; one in the street opposite Cornelis Van Borsum's."

The little dock at the foot of Moore Street had been extended, and formed the southern side of a basin that extended to the City Hall. This great dock was finished in 1683. It was during the Andros administration that the "Bolting Act" was passed that did so much to bring prosperity to New York. This bolting act secured to New York citizens the exclusive right to bolt or sift flour and to export sea biscuit and flour. All places in the interior of the province were forbidden to pursue these branches of trade under penalty of forfeiture of the contraband articles. During the sixteen years that this act was in force the wealth of the city was trebled. Six hundred houses were erected, lots increased to ten times their former value, and sixty large vessels were added to the fleet hailing from the port. But precisely as they are to-day, after the passage of two centuries, the up-country New Yorkers were jealous of their city brethren, and in 1694 effected the repeal of the Bolting Act.

The Heere Straat, that had been renamed Broadway within a year after the first capture of the city by the British, had been improved by new buildings, and more than seventy lined the street between Bowling Green and the present Wall Street. Down on the river side, between what are now Wall Street and Franklin Square, was known as Smit's V'ly or Smith's Valley, and here twenty-four houses had sprung up outside the wall along the road to the Brooklyn ferry. The Water side, as the present north side of Pearl Street between Wall Street and Hanover Square was called, boasted forty-two buildings, and was the commercial heart of the city. High Street, or Hoogh Straat, now narrow Stone Street, between Hanover Square and Broad Street, was a very fashionable residential street in those days, and contained twenty-eight dwellings, which were among the best in town, and its continuation to Whitehall Street, which was known as Brouwer's Straat, contained the house in which Major Anthony Brockholls dwelt after vacating his quarters in the fort.

It must have been with a great sigh of relief that Brockholls read, early in 1682, a letter from England announcing the appointment of a successor to Andros, and good reason he had to feel relieved. The province, from the east end of Long Island to Schenectady, seethed with discontent, and from every settlement arose a cry for a popular assembly. On the northern borders the French claimed the entire region nearly as far south as Albany, and French agents and soldiers were alternately negotiating with and threatening the Five Nations to bring them under

French domination. On the east, Connecticut was agitating the boundary question, on the south, New Jersey was cutting into New York's trade and revenues, while William Penn coveted the rich and beautiful upper valley of the Susquehanna.

CHAPTER VII

IN WHICH A CATHOLIC GOVERNOR PROCLAIMS CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

A GREAT top-heavy old frigate, said to be the first of its class in the British Navy, His Majesty's ship "Constant Warwick," transformed "from twenty-six gunns and an incomparable sayler to forty-six gunns and a slug," dropped anchor off Nantasket, Massachusetts, after a long and tiresome voyage, August 10th, 1683. The most important personage among the passengers was Colonel, the Honorable Thomas Dongan, who bore the Duke of York's commission as his Lieutenant and Governor of the Province of New York, including the district of Pemaquid, Maine, and the islands of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts.

The Governor and his staff were received at Nantasket by a troop of Boston militia and a number of notables of that town, and were escorted as far as Dedham, Massachusetts. He crossed the sound to Long Island, and had not progressed far towards New York city before learning, from delegations of Long Islanders, headed by their ministers, the deep-rooted discontent of the people against "taxation without representation." On this journey he met for the first time the red men, remnants of the Manhas-

set, Montauk, Shinnecock, Patchogue, Secatague, Mericoke, Marsapeague, Corchaug, Setauket, Nissequag, Matinecock, Rockaway and Canarsie tribes. The Rev. Thomas James and a delegation of Easthampton Puritans received the new Governor and protested loudly against the general order of things. They knew, of course, because rumor had been busy, that the big pleasant-faced affable Governor was one of the hated "Papists," but did any of them suspect that the figure clad in sober raiment in the gay-colored and gold-laced retinue was one of the "abhorred brood" of Jesuits? Father Thomas Harvey, S.J., who was born in London in 1635, and entered the Society of Jesus in 1665, had come out with the Governor as his chaplain.

The settlements on and adjacent to Long Island at that day were Southold, Southampton, Hempstead, Gravesend, Flushing, Brooklyn, Easthampton, Gardiner's Island, Flatbush, Shelter Island, Huntington, Oyster Bay, Flatlands, Brookhaven, Newtown, Jamaica, New Utrecht, Bushwick, Smithtown, and Islip, and the larger of these were visited by the Governor and his suite. They journeyed westward through the sandy level country of the south side or crossed the island to some village in the beautiful uplands of the north shore.

Dongan was the youngest son of Sir John Dongan, a member of the Irish parliament, a captain of horse and large landed proprietor. He was born in 1634, in the manor house of Castletown, Kildrought, now known as Celbridge, in County Kildare, Ireland. Authorities differ as to the family origin. Some assert that the Don-

gans are descended from the ancient Irish O'Dunnagans, but O'Hart names them among the families of English or Anglo-Norman descent. Certain it is that the Dongans held places of prominence in Irish history since the fourteenth century. Thomas Dongan's mother was a Talbot, and his maternal uncles were Archbishop Talbot of Dublin and Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnell, Lord Deputy of Ireland under James II. The Talbots and the Calverts (Lords Baltimore) were distantly related, and to Dongan and Calvert belong the distinction of proclaiming religious liberty in two English-American colonies. Sir Walter Dongan, Thomas' eldest brother, was deep in Irish patriotic plots and was one of the Confederated Catholics in the assembly in Kilkenny in 1646. He died childless, and was succeeded by William, the second eldest, whose patriotic adherence to Ireland and the house of Stuart compelled him to abandon his estates and fly to France in Cromwell's time.

This was in 1649, and Thomas, a youth of fifteen, accompanied his brother across the water. A commission in the French army was obtained for Thomas, and he participated in every campaign under the great Marshal Turenne until the latter's death in 1675. James, Duke of York, also served under Turenne until 1656, and it is probable that the Duke met Dongan in France, and the acquaintance afforded him opportunities of forming an estimate of Dongan's character and abilities. In 1678 King Charles II issued peremptory orders that all English subjects must leave France. Dongan, whose

name is given as "D'unguent" in French documents, had been made a colonel in 1674, and the pay and emoluments of his rank were worth to him £5,000 a year. The most tempting offers of promotion were made him to remain, but true, as were all his house, to the Stuarts he refused and was ordered out of France within forty-eight hours by Louis XIV. Sixty-five thousand livres arrears of pay, due him from France, he never received. On his arrival in England, King Charles appointed him a general officer in the army organized to fight the French in Flanders, and settled on him an annual pension of £500 for life. He did not go to Flanders, but was, the same year, made Lieutenant-Governor of Tangiers, Africa, under Lord Inchiquin. Tangiers and Bombay had been given as a dower by King Alfonso V of Portugal to Princess Catherine of Braganza on her marriage with Charles II in 1662. Strange as it may seem, Bombay, the great East Indian port of today, was looked upon at that time as of little importance, and an immense amount of money was expended fortifying and improving Tangiers, but in 1683 Charles caused the expensive fortifications to be blown up and the place abandoned. It became in after days a piratical port. Dongan served two years in Tangiers and found his expenses greater than his income. He was recalled and, after a visit to Ireland, went to London, and became well known and popular in court and social circles. In 1682 he was appointed "Governor of the Duke of York's Province of New York." He was then in his forty-eighth year. Before he sailed for America

the Duke of York, who had again been made Lord High Admiral, commissioned Dongan a Vice-Admiral.

Crossing the East River, Saturday, August 25th, Dongan and his retinue entered the city. Crowds of English, Dutch, French, Indians, and negro slaves lined the streets between the walls and the fort, through which the cavalcade passed, and received the new Governor with vociferous expressions of delight, for it had been noised about that he came empowered by the Duke to adjust all the difficulties that racked the province. The little half-moon fort at the water gate, the rough stockade across the island, and the tattered soldiery must have brought an amused smile to the face of the soldier of Turenne, accustomed to the great fortifications and gorgeously clad and disciplined armies of Europe. What a contrast, the cosmopolitan crowd along the streets and the low toy-like houses, to the inhabitants and huge old buildings of an ancient city of France or Germany! To the boom of cannon and the cheers of the people the Governor and his escort entered the fort. Next day was passed as became the Lord's day, and it is likely that the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was offered within the walls of the fort by Father Harvey, assisted by Father Michael Forster (Gulick), Superior or the Maryland Jesuit Mission. On Monday morning the great room in the City Hall or Stadt Huys on Pearl Street was crowded by the provincial officials, civil and military, and the Mayor and Common Council of the city gathered to meet the Governor, who was escorted from the fort by the soldiery. After the functionaries had been pre-

sented to their new ruler, he stepped outside the building and his commission was read, also his instructions respecting special privileges to be accorded the metropolis. There were nearly four thousand inhabitants in New York at that time, and it seemed as if they were all crowded in the yard of the City Hall. When they heard that they were to have a popular assembly, the people were wild with joy, and, to the bass accompaniment of the roll of drums and the booming guns of the fort, their shouts and acclamations were heard on the Long Island shores. As they looked at the stalwart soldierly figure of the gracious, smiling Governor they felt that here was a man who could and would restore peace and prosperity to the province and subdue both foreign and domestic foes.

Next day, on the invitation of the magistrates, the Governor was entertained at a banquet by the Corporation in the City Hall, Mayor William Beekman presiding. All the prominent men of the municipality and province, Dutch, English and French, were present. A chronicle of the day says: "His honour received a large and plentiful entertainment, and they had great satisfaction in his honour's company." The Irish gentleman, the soldier of Turenne, the English official, the courtier of Versailles and Whitehall had, by his magnetism, his affability, his wit and common sense, completely captivated the great men of New York. After the festivities the Governor took up the reins of government without delay and, as instructed by the Duke, selected and swore in his council and appointed his provincial officials.

Major Anthony Brockholls was named a Councilor and a member of a committee to catalogue the records of the city and province, and Mark Talbot, a Catholic, who had come to New York in the Governor's suite, and who was doubtless related to him, was appointed on a committee to survey Fort James.

Word came from Albany that William Penn's agents were in that place negotiating with the Iroquois Indians for the upper Susquehanna Valley, and Dongan sailed on the four-days journey to Albany, September 6th, to put a stop to the proceedings. As this chronicle deals with New York city, matters affecting the province at large will not be treated in detail except inasmuch as they affect the city. Penn's efforts to secure possession of the upper Susquehanna Valley were defeated by Dongan, but gained for the New York Governor the lasting enmity of the Quaker. A week later the Governor and his council held a session in the fort at New York, and issued a call for the freeholders of New York, Long Island, Esopus, Albany and Martha's Vineyard to choose representatives to appear at a General Assembly to be held in New York city, October 17th, to consult with the Governor and council, " what laws are fit to be made and established for the good weal and government of the said colony and its dependencies and all the inhabitants thereof." The call for the assembly caused rejoicing in every part of the Duke's possession, save in the eastern end of Long Island, where it seems to have been regarded with suspicion as some sort of " popish " plot.

At a council meeting held in the fort on October 4th and 5th three great Sachems of the Mohawks were present with their squaws, and Governor Dongan inaugurated the great struggle with the French for the friendship and fealty of the Five Nations, and for British jurisdiction over them and the country south of the St. Lawrence River and the lakes, that continued in the council and the wilderness until his recall by King James. In the documentary history of New York there are no abler, stronger, wittier papers than the letters that passed between Dongan and Denonville, the Governor of New France, in the struggle for possession of the regions that form the greater part of the Empire State. Unsupported, and hampered for reasons of State by his home government, Dongan, with the far-seeing vision of the statesman, realized the importance and value of the territory for which he contended, and, in spite of all obstacles, fixed the northern boundary of his province on the southern shores of the great northern waterways.

So rapidly grew the new Governor's popularity that early in October, at a meeting of the sheriffs of the province, called for the purpose of adopting an address of thanks to the Duke of York for granting a General Assembly, a clause therein read as follows: "We do, therefore, beseech your royal highness to accept our most humble and most hearty thanks for sending us over the honourable colonel Thomas Dongan, to be lieutenant and governor of this province, of whose integrity, justice, equity and prudence we

have already had a very sufficient experience at our last general court of assizes."

October 17th was the most momentous day that had dawned on the little city on Manhattan Island and the province of which it was the capital. Seventeen representatives of the people, elected by the people, met in General Assembly in the fort and elected Matthias Nicolls Speaker and John Spragg Clerk. Of this assembly Thompson, in his "History of Long Island," wrote: "And thus by the persuasions of a Quaker (once so odious) did a bigoted Roman Catholic prince give orders to a papistical governor, to introduce a popular assembly elected by the people themselves, who had before no share in the government. An event similar in principle and of nearly equal importance to that glorious independence which their descendants procured for themselves in less than a century later." Unfortunately the Journal of the Assembly is not known to exist, but it is known that its session lasted three weeks and that fourteen acts were passed after three readings each, and received the assent of the Governor and council.

Its most important enactment was: "The Charter of Liberties and Priviledges granted by his Royal Highness to the Inhabitants of New Yorke and its dependencies," which provided that the supreme authority under the King and Duke "shall forever reside in a governour, council and the people met in general assembly." The phrase, "the people met in general assembly," proves that to New York belongs the leadership "in the struggle for equal rights and ancient liberties." The assembly took up at

once the work of restoring order out of the provincial chaos. The province and dependencies were divided into the following shires or counties: New York, Westchester, Ulster, Albany, Dutchess, Orange, Richmond, Kings, Queens, Suffolk, Duke's and Cornwall. The following tribunals were provided: Town courts for trial of small causes, to be held on the first Wednesday of each month; County courts or Courts of Sessions, quarterly or semi-annually; General court of Oyer and Terminer, to sit twice every year in each county; and a Court of Chancery, the Supreme Court of the province, to be composed of the Governor and council, with power in the Governor to appoint a Chancellor in his stead. Another important act provided for the naturalization of all persons residing in the province professing Christianity and taking the oaths of allegiance. The Governor signed the Charter of Liberties, and on October 31st it was solemnly proclaimed at the City Hall, to the blare of trumpets and amidst the acclamations of the multitude, "in the presence of his Honor the Governor, the Council and Representatives and Deputy Mayor and Alderman of this City." . . . "Thus the principle of taxation only by consent was initiated as a law of the land."

Even in those early days the "liquor question" was a burning issue, because, on November 2nd, the Governor was compelled to issue a proclamation that read in part that, as "greate hurt, trouble and inconveniences have and do grow and increase every day, from the disorders committed in publick drinking-houses, tap houses and ordinarys, and by persons presuming to sell

liquors without license, Ordered that no person presume to sell under five gallons without obtaining license."

The city corporation petitioned the Governor, early in November, for a charter which would confirm certain "ancient customs, privileges and immunities," granted in 1665, and, in addition thereto, the division of the city into six wards and the annual election or appointment of corporation officers. After some hesitation the Governor, in December, granted the petition, and the city was divided into the South, Dock, East, North, West, and Out wards.

During November a commission from Connecticut, headed by Governor Robert Treat, came to New York in response to a letter from Dongan demanding a settlement of the disputed eastern boundary line. It was a characteristic effusion: "If you do not submit," he wrote, "to let us have all the land within twenty miles of Hudson's River, I must claim as far as the Duke's Patent goes, which is to the River Connecticut." The negotiations between the Commissioners extended over several years, and the final result fixed the boundaries as they exist today.

Early in December the Corporation sent another committee to the Governor to ask additional privileges for the city. Upon hearing their request he exclaimed:

"I wonder that having lately granted almost every particular of a large and considerable petition that I should so suddenly receive another."

He admired their progressive spirit, however,

and before the close of 1683 had added many new ordinances and conferred additional privileges on the city. Among the most important were provisions that markets be held on Wednesdays and Saturdays and be opened and closed with the ringing of bells. The Brooklyn ferry was granted to the city with the proviso that two passenger and one cattle boat be kept on each side of the river. Docks and wharves were allowed the city, " provided they be kept cleared," otherwise the privilege would be forfeited. It was provided that the bakers of the city should be under the supervision of the Mayor as to the weight and price of bread. Twenty licensed carmen were appointed, also chimney sweeps and an " inviter to funerals."

About this time the town of Hempstead, Long Island, presented the Governor with two hundred acres of land, and during the following year added two hundred more, making a fine domain that extended from the north side of Hempstead plains to Lake Success. The Governor, on December 14th, dispatched Mark Talbot to London as bearer to the Duke of York of the charter and laws adopted by the assembly for his confirmation.

The proprietors of East Jersey revived their claim to Staten Island early in 1684, and Dongan met their pretensions with characteristic vigor. A petition was sent to the Duke of York urging him to annex East Jersey to his province " by purchase or otherwise," on the ground that the adjacent colony was flourishing at the expense of New York. The Duke deferred action on this petition until he, as King, in 1688 consoli-

dated all the northern and eastern colonies except Pennsylvania.

In March the Governor issued a proclamation confirming the bolting privilege granted the city during the administration of Andros. At that time there were twenty-four bakers in the city, compelled by law to furnish a white loaf of bread weighing at least twelve ounces and sold at six stivers of wampum.

The authorities were called upon to deal with what was probably the first labor strike during this month. Twenty licensed carmen had a monopoly of the cartage of the city. They received threepence for cartage to any part of the city and double rates outside the walls. In return for the concession they formed a highway and street-cleaning force, and were obliged to fill in and repair breaches in the streets and to remove from the streets, every Saturday afternoon, the refuse that had been swept together by the inhabitants. Dissatisfied with this arrangement, fifteen carmen "went on strike," were promptly dismissed, and all persons, except slaves, were allowed to act as carmen. A week later three of the strikers submitted, were pardoned and restored on acknowledging their fault and paying a fine of five shillings.

One day in June of that year the guns of Fort James thundered a salute and the city troops turned out in honor of Lord Howard of Effingham, Governor of Virginia, and two members of his council, who had journeyed to New York to urge Dongan to unite with Virginia in a war on the Iroquois because of outrages committed by the red men along the northern boundaries of

both Maryland and Virginia. During his stay in New York Lord Effingham was the guest of Governor Dongan and was entertained by the leading men of the community. The corporation conferred on him the freedom of the city.

Dongan's plans made it absolutely essential for him to win and retain the friendship of the Five Nations, and with that end in view he accompanied Lord Effingham to Albany and met in council delegations of Sachems from the Mohawks, Oneidas, Senecas, Onondagas and Cayugas. Axes were buried, peace pipes smoked and a firm peace concluded. The Indians were deeply grateful to Dongan for his services as mediator, and presented him with two white dressed deerskins on which was written their submission to the Great Sachem Charles. These were to be sent to the Great Sachem across the waters, that he might "write on them and put a great red seal to them." As British influence with the Iroquois increased French influence lessened.

Early in 1684 bands of Cayugas and Senecas plundered several French trading parties. The French Governor De la Barre, determined to punish them, led an expedition to the Seneca country, but, having arrived there, found his forces so reduced by exposure and disease that he gladly concluded a peace with the Indians, early in September, greatly to the detriment of French prestige.

The ringing of the bell on the church in the fort in New York, September 14th, announced the opening of a Latin school to the inhabitants. It is likely that Father Harvey

was the teacher. Several of the principal men of the city sent their sons to the school, but the bigotry of the people prevented its success. For its maintenance Governor Dongan had requested permission from King James to grant the Duke's, later the King's farm to the school, but King James refused, saying he would not have his Governors "deprived of their conveniences." The King's farm was on the west side of Broadway, between the modern Fulton and Chambers streets. It was granted to Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church by Queen Anne in 1705.

In October the assembly held its second session and passed thirty-one laws that received the Governor's sanction. In the early part of 1684 the Governor received a touching petition from two brothers, Philip and Dego Dequa, two free Spanish-American negroes sold into slavery. Philip Dequa had been captured in a raid by the buccaneer Henry Morgan on the city of Panama in 1671, and his brother Dego was taken by a French captain from a Spanish prize ship in 1673. Both were carried to Jamaica and sold as slaves. One was sent to New York in 1681, the other following two years later. Philip was sold to David Yoakhams for £35, and Dego to Jacobus Van Courtlandt, merchant. In their petition they said: "We your poore petitioners are free born subjects to our King and have been brought up in the wayes of Christianity and in the Roman Catholique Religion which we still stand by and continue in the same and hopeing thereby in and though ye meritt of our Blessed Saviour to obtain life everlasting

not doubting that ye loving God is on our side and every good Christian would lend their helping hand to assist ye poor peticioners." There is no record of the final disposition of this case, but the records of his time demonstrate that the holding of Christians in slavery was abhorrent to New York's greatest colonial Governor.

Two Canadians, Sieur Jean Bourdon and M. de Salvaye, bearing a message from Governor De la Barre of New France to Governor Dongan, notifying him of the expedition against the Senecas, were in the city in 1684. Bourdon came to Canada in 1633 or 1634. In 1637 he obtained the seigneury of Dombourg (later Neuville and Pointe aux Trembles), and was proprietor of the fiefs of St. John and St. Francis in the dependency of Quebec. After Father Jogues' return from France, Bourdon accompanied him on his first visit to the Mohawk villages, and was notified the following year by a letter from a friend in New York of the martyrdom of the saintly Jesuit. In 1656 he entered Hudson Bay and took possession for the French King, and a year prior to his visit to New York he explored the coast of Labrador. He served New France as Chief Engineer and later as Attorney-General.

About this time Father Harvey baptized a girl baby in the chapel of the fort who afterwards gained mention in Canadian history. Sir William Phips sailed up the St. Lawrence with a fleet, in 1690, to attack Quebec. He captured a French bark in which Madame and Md'lle de la Lande and Md'lle Jolliet were passengers. After the failure of Phips' attack, Md'lle de la

Lande, who was the infant baptized in New York, proposed to Phips to go as his representative to Frontenac to arrange an exchange of prisoners. Her offer was accepted, and the embassy of the young French Canadian as representative of the British-American Admiral was successful.

Early in 1685 the news reached Dongan that his brother William, who had been created Baron Dongan and Viscount Claine in 1661, had been advanced on the peerage to the Earldom of Limerick, with remainder over, in default of heirs, to the Governor. Captain Jervis Baxter, a Catholic, was appointed a Provincial Councilor this year and served continuously until 1688.

Governor Dongan erected a Court of Exchequer, to be presided over by the Governor and Council, to exercise jurisdiction over matters relating to the Duke's land rents, rights and revenues. In 1691 matters in exchequer were placed under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, and the Court of Exchequer ceased to exist.

Ever seeking methods to develop and strengthen the good relations between the English colonies, Dongan directed the city corporation to take steps to establish postal communication, and the corporation, in March, proposed "that for the better correspondence between the Colonies of America a post office be established and the rates for riding post be, per mile, 3d. for every single letter not above one hundred miles; if more proportionately."

Captain Jervis Baxter returned from London about mid-April with the great news that King

Charles II had died, February 6th, 1685, and that the Duke of York reigned as King James II.

Dongan at once issued a proclamation calling on the militia of the city and county to assemble in front of Fort James, April 23rd. King James was solemnly proclaimed, to the booming of the fort's guns, volleys of musketry and the acclamations of the people. In May the corporation prepared an address congratulating the King on his accession, wishing him "a long, peaceable and prosperous reign." About this time Father Henry Harrison, S.J., joined Father Harvey in New York.

In September the Jews petitioned the Governor "for liberty to exercise their religion." He recommended their petition to the corporation, which decided that no public worship was tolerated by act of assembly, except based on faith in Christ. There is evidence, however, that the worship of the Jews in their synagogue was never interfered with by the authorities. At this time the valuation of property in the city was placed by the assessors at £75,694.

In compliance with writs for a new assembly, the elected delegates met in New York on the first Monday in October. It continued in session until November 3rd and passed six laws. It adjourned, to reconvene September 25th, 1686; but instructions from London prevented it from meeting again. In honor of the suppression of the rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth in England and the Earl of Argyle in Scotland, November 20th was proclaimed a day of thanksgiving in New York by the Governor.

Under just laws, well administered, the province had grown and prospered. The population had increased to 20,000, living in twenty-four communities, and guarded by 4,000 foot militia, 300 horse and a company of dragoons.

April 27th, 1686, was a red-letter day in the annals of New York city. On that day, in response to the petition of the corporation, the Governor affixed his signature and the seal of the province to a new charter. This precious document can be seen in the City Hall at the present day. It has since continued to be the basis of the city's laws, rights and privileges, and shows that its framers were "possessed of a broad and enlightened sense of the sanctity of corporate and private rights." To show its appreciation of the Governor's act in granting the charter, the corporation voted him £300, but it is a question as to whether this sum was ever paid.

Charles Aubert De la Chesnaye petitioned the Governor to grant him a license to bring in his vessel from Quebec to New York beavers, peltries and other goods for the purpose of trade. The Governor granted the license.

A new commission reached the Governor on June 10th appointing him the King's Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief over his "Province of New York and the territories depending thereon in North America." Large powers were given him, and he was instructed "to take all possible care for the discountenance of vice and encouragement of virtue and good living, that by such example the infidels may be invited and desire to partake of the Christian religion."

On July 22nd a city charter was granted by

the Governor to Albany. During the summer Dongan held conferences with delegations of the Five Nations, and promised to assist them if attacked by the French. He sent trading parties to the Western tribes, and these gained valuable information and materials. His policy so exasperated Denonville, who had succeeded De la Barre as Governor of New France, that he wrote to France: "I am disposed to go straight to Orange (Albany), storm their fort and burn the whole concern." A radical change in the government of the province was brought about by letters of instruction from the King that reached Dongan from England, September 14th. They told him: "You are to declare our will and pleasure that said Bill or Charter of Franchises be forthwith repealed and disallowed."

Further instructions directed that the Governor and council continue the duties and impositions sufficient for the support of the government, and that all other laws, statutes and ordinances already made should continue in full force and vigor in so far as they did not conflict with the present instructions or any laws that the council thereafter passed. The prosperity of New York was safeguarded by prohibiting any invasion of the Hudson River trade by East Jerseymen or others, and providing that all goods passing up the river should pay duty in New York.

Further instructions provided for encouraging the Indians to trade with the English; to act prudently with the province's European neighbors, that they should have no just cause of complaint; that laws should be adopted for the

punishment of masters who were inhumanely cruel to their Christian servants or slaves; that the willful killing of Indians and negroes should be punishable by death. Some historians relate that no printing press was allowed in New York by King James, but omit mentioning the qualification, "without your (Dongan's) special leave and license first obtained." About this time Father Charles Gage, S.J., joined Father Harvey in New York.

In his negotiations with the Indians of the Five Nations Dongan found his efforts to secure the allegiance and friendship of the red men thwarted by the influence and labors of the devoted French Jesuit fathers, who, incomprehensible as it seems to some people outside the Church, had not ceased to be patriotic subjects of the French crown when they became Jesuits. Through their labors and persuasions many of the Christianized Iroquois had formed a settlement at Caughnawaga. Dongan, in his overtures to the Iroquois, had urged them to draw back to New York the Caughnawaga Indians, and had promised to provide a tract of land for them at Saratoga, to build a church thereon and to bring over English Jesuits to minister to them. True to his promise, he arranged with the patentees of the Saratoga tract to occupy it, at least temporarily, for an Indian settlement, and it was with a view to carrying out his promise that Fathers Harrison and Gage joined Father Harvey in New York to prepare themselves for the Indian mission. These priests were in Albany at different times during Dongan's administration, but the difficulty of mastering the Iroquois language

and the unsettled condition of affairs on the borders combined to defeat the Governor's project.

Notwithstanding the Governor's and council's orders in the matter of holding free Spanish negroes and Indians in slavery, the abuse continued, and in 1687 the Governor and council issued an order that "all the Christian Indyans and children of Christian parents brought from the towns of Campeachy and Vera Cruz, Mexico, and sold as slaves in this province shall be free." Later in the year Dongan proposed to the council some means for the release of Spaniards and other free people held as slaves, and he forbade those who claimed to be their masters either to sell or hide such persons pending their appeals for liberty.

The Governor, February 22nd, 1687, sent to the Committee of Trade in London an exhaustive and very able report on the condition of the province. In it he reported La Salle's voyage down the Mississippi, and, with far-sighted statesmanship, pointed out the advantage possession of the great valley of the Mississippi would be to the French against the English and Spanish. He asked permission to send an expedition from New York to ascend the river and take possession for the English crown.

A grant of twenty-five thousand acres on Staten Island was made to John Palmer, March 31st, and conveyed by him the following day to Governor Dongan. This estate was erected into "the lordship and Manor of Cassiltowne" in memory of his ancestral estate in Ireland. In the forests near by, the oak frame of a manor house

was hewn and a gristmill, outbulidings and a hunting lodge were erected. The manor house was afterward externally modernized and stood until its destruction by fire a few years ago.

About two hundred French Huguenot families, driven from France and its possessions, settling in New York, had applied for letters of denization. The " bigoted papist " King James, in May, 1687, commanded that they should be welcomed and encouraged and that as full liberty should be given them to trade as was possessed by the King's native-born subjects.

Notwithstanding the signing of a treaty of neutrality between the English and French monarchs, the troubled condition of affairs on the northern border continued. Governor Denonville, despite the treaty, seized fifty Iroquois who had come in friendship to confer with him, and sent them to France to serve in the galleys. The land of the Senecas was invaded by the French, and several English trading parties from Albany were captured. In July and August Governor Dongan, aroused by the reports of French aggression, hurried to Albany, and on the 5th of August he addressed a council of Sachems of the Iroquois and supplied them with arms and ammunition with which to defend themselves against French attacks. In September John Palmer was sent to England to inform the King of the condition of New York affairs and the aggressive attitude of the French. Antoine Lespinard, on his return to Albany from a visit to his son, who was boarding in a Jesuit school at Villa Marie, on the island of Montreal, Canada, reported that the French

were preparing for a winter expedition against Albany and that they were determined to burn it because of the assistance given by the English to the Senecas.

Such was the condition of affairs when Governor Dongan delivered his ultimatum to Governor Denonville in which he demanded the return of all English prisoners; an indemnity for all merchandise captured from trading parties; the immediate demolition of a fort erected by the French at Niagara, and that the Iroquois Indians sent to the galleys in France be surrendered as British subjects to the British Ambassador in Paris or to the Secretary of State in London. To back up these bold demands a little army of about two hundred men, hastily raised in New York city and on Long Island and led by the gallant Governor, journeyed up the Hudson River to Albany. They found the people of the city in a state of panic, due to a rumored announcement of the intention of the French to destroy Albany and Schenectady and send their inhabitants to Spain, Portugal and the West Indies. About eight hundred friendly Iroquois were added to the strength of the garrison, which consisted of four hundred infantry and fifty cavalry. Fortifications were strengthened and increased. The French Fort Chambly was attacked by the Mohawks and Mohicans, who burned houses thereabouts, killed several Frenchmen and took a number of prisoners, and it was feared that a storm would burst on the English settlements any day.

Denonville, shortly after assuming the Governorship of New France, had dispatched a

memoir on the state of affairs in Canada to Versailles in which he said: "The surest remedy against the English of New York would be to purchase that place from the King of England, who, in the present state of his affairs will, without doubt, require money of the King (of France). By that means we should be masters of the Iroquois without waging war."

In this month Matthew Plowman, a Catholic, was appointed Collector or Receiver-General for the port of New York, but he found the province in an impoverished condition due to the stagnation of trade of all kinds because of the border troubles. John Palmer, Dongan's ambassador to Whitehall, had convinced King James that the neutrality treaty was contrary to British-American interests. He induced the King to recognize the Iroquois as British subjects, and on November 10th Dongan was instructed to defend and protect them; to build forts wherever necessary and to employ the New York militia and call on neighboring English colonies for assistance. A complaint against Dongan from the French King induced poor distracted James, surrounded as he was by traitors and under life-long obligations to Louis, to agree to a proposal forbidding, until January 1st, 1689, any English or French commander in America to commit acts of hostility against the territories of either sovereign.

During January and February Dongan remained in Albany to watch the French. Early in March he sent Major Jervis Baxter down to New York with a message to the council bidding them consider ways and means to meet the extraor-

dinary expenses, amounting to £8,000, caused by the border troubles. The council decided that New York was unable to bear the burden alone and recommended that the other colonies be called upon to share the expense. On the 28th, the Governor returned to New York disheartened by the financial conditions. To meet the expenses of the expedition to Albany he had pledged his personal credit, sold his plate and furniture and borrowed £2,000 from Robert Livingston, giving him a mortgage on his Staten Island estate to secure the debt. During the French troubles he expended £10,000 of his private fortune. He wrote to the governments of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and New Jersey for financial assistance. New England promised six hundred men. The only other response was from Lord Howard of Effingham, who sent £500 because of his appreciation of Dongan's ability. Out in the country, on Broadway, between the present Maiden Lane and Ann Street, the Governor owned a beautiful garden with shady walks and a great stone summer house, and, no doubt, in these distracting times he sought relief among his beloved flowers and birds from the worry and turmoil of his office in Fort James. In May alarming reports of French activity were carried down the river, and the tireless Governor again journeyed north. Scouts were dispatched to the Iroquois Castles to watch the movements of the French, and bands of friendly lower river Indians were taken up to Albany. The Governor was authorized to call on the New England governments, if he deemed it necessary, for the six hundred soldiers prom-

ised. At the council meeting June 30th, it was ordered that a military watch be kept in New York city, as privateers were reported off the coast. Wearied by his labors and disheartened by the financial condition of the province, yet satisfied with his efforts to defend and preserve the territory of his royal master, Dongan returned to the city of New York the last week in August and found in Fort James a letter from the King that told him the many enemies he had made by unwavering fidelity to his master had triumphed. He was notified that the King had decided to annex New Jersey and New York to the Eastern colonies and unite all, except Pennsylvania and Delaware, into the Dominion of New England.

Sir Edmund Andros had been appointed Governor-General. Dongan was offered the command of a regiment in the British army with the rank of Major-General of artillery, but subsequently declined it. At the very moment when his fortunes were at their lowest ebb the blow fell. He had impoverished himself by his efforts to hold the vast and rich territory, that to-day is the Empire State, for his master. The last session of the council at which Dongan presided was held July 30th, 1688, and one of the last of his official acts was the promulgation of a proclamation of emancipation releasing and sending to their homes "all Indian slaves within this Province subjects to the King of Spain that can give an account of their Christian faith and say the Lord's Prayer . . . and likewise them that shall hereafter come to this Province."

Dongan received Governor Sir Edmund An-

dros and his staff, brilliant in scarlet and gold, August 11th. Colonel Nicholas Bayard's regiment of foot and troop of horse escorted the new Governor to the fort where the seal of the province was broken in his presence and the seal of New England ordered to be used in its stead. With the courtesy that distinguished him in his dealing with all men, Dongan remained in the city until his successor had departed and then retired to the shelter of his farmhouse on the shores of Lake Success, near Hempstead, Long Island. His bold ultimatum to Governor Denonville had borne fruit. The English traders taken by the French had been liberated, the surviving Iroquois prisoners were freed from the chains that bound them to the galleys in far-off France, and a large wooden cross and a few log houses were all that remained of the dismantled French fort at Niagara.

The persecutions visited on James from the time he announced his conversion continued, covertly, after he ascended the throne. His chief aim was to abolish the disabilities under which Catholics and dissenters groaned, and to establish liberty of conscience throughout the realm. In industry and business ability, history concedes him to have been the ablest King that has ruled England. Surrounded by unwise friends and traitorous counsellors who, hastening him to his fall, were corresponding with his son-in-law William, Prince of Orange, James determined to ameliorate the condition of those who suffered persecution for conscience's sake and roused to fever-heat the bigotry of the people by seeking to compel the hierarchy of the Church

of England to read the Declaration of Indulgence or liberty of conscience from their pulpits. Secret invitations were sent by open and secret foes of James to William to come to England in defense of the Protestant religion. The Prince of Orange landed at Torbay, November 5th, 1688, and shortly after multitudes flocked to his standard, until James found himself deserted by all save a faithful few.

On December 11th, while endeavoring to escape from London, he was captured but finally made his way to France. Several attempts to reseat him on his throne were unsuccessful. Faults he had in plenty, but his latter years were saintly. His constant prayer was: "I give Thee, O my God, my most humble thanks, for that it hath pleased Thee to take from me my three kingdoms. Thou hast hereby roused me from the lethargy of sin, and brought me out of a miserable estate, in which, Lord, had I continued, I should have been forever undone. I also thank Thee, O my God, for that it hath pleased Thee, out of Thine infinite goodness, to banish me into a strange land, where I have learnt the duties of Christianity and done my utmost to perform them."

In his instructions to his son, drawn up by him while in Ireland in 1690, he wrote: "Serve God as a perfect Christian and be a worthy son of the Roman Church. Let no human consideration, of what nature soever, be capable to draw you from it. . . . Do your endeavour to establish by a law, the liberty of conscience; and whatever may be represented to you about it, never leave that design until you have compassed it.

KING JAMES II

It is a grace, and a particular favour, that God does them whom He enlightens with his knowledge, in calling them to the true religion; and it is by mildness, instructions, and a good example, that they are won much more than by fear or violence. . . . Apply yourself principally to know the Constitution of the English Government, that you may keep you and your parliament each in due bounds, that become the one and the other. Further be instructed concerning the trade of the nation—make it flourish by all lawful means. It is that which enriches the Kingdom, and which will make you considerable abroad. But above all endeavour to be and to remain superior at sea; without which England cannot be secure."

History will some day vindicate the memory of King James II and elevate him to the place to which his abilities entitle him.

CHAPTER VIII

HOW A GERMAN USURPER RULED WITH A HIGH HAND AND ENDED HIS CAREER ON THE GALLOWS

WHILE suspicion, discontent and treason were rife in England, the year 1688 passed quietly in New York, Andros, October 4th, left the city for New England, leaving Francis Nicholson, the Lieutenant-Governor, in command in New York. Owing to the heavy expenses necessitated by the defense of the northern frontier against the French and Indians, the provincial treasury was nearly empty, and little money was available for the repairing of Fort James, which was in a ruinous condition. Notwithstanding the money shortage, Nicholson had provided materials for repairing Fort James, and by an arrangement with Colonel Bayard, commanding the militia, the work had been divided into equal parts, and a part assigned to each of the militia companies of the city. Despite the poverty of the province the people as a whole were contented and happy, although the consolidation of New York with New England and the news of the pro-Catholic tendencies of King James were sullenly resented.

The condition of the churches under the Catholic King's government is evidenced by the

following extracts from letters of Pastors or Dominies of the Dutch Reformed Churches to the Classis, in Amsterdam. The Reverend Rudolphus Varick, of Flatbush, wrote, September 30th, 1688: "As to my congregation, we live in love and peace with each other. It is fairly well regulated, is zealous in serving God, and increases daily." The Reverend Henricus Selyns, pastor of the church in Fort James, wrote, October 10th, 1688: "I wrote to your Reverences on August 24th, 1687, and then informed you of the exact condition and grateful prosperity of the Church of God in this place and in this vicinity."

One day in the fall of this year Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson directed Andraes and Jan Meyer, workmen employed in the fort, to put themselves at the disposal of Father John Smith (Thomas Harvey) to remove the furniture and fixtures of the Catholic chapel to a better adapted and more commodious apartment in the fort and to arrange everything "according to his will." Nicholson was an Episcopalian, but no man thrown into the company of Father "John Smith" could resist the charm of his geniality and good humor and, simply out of friendship for the good priest, the courtly Lieutenant-Governor offered him better accommodations for his chapel. That evening Andraes and Jan Meyer told all who would listen the story of their day's work, and how disappointed they were that the Catholic "idols" were not removed from the fort instead of into a better room. The story traveled from the fort to the bridge and from the bridge to the City Hall. It was discussed in Ned Buckmaster's tavern

and at many a supper table. A young man who had been in England insisted that Nicholson was a "Papist!" Had he not seen him with his own eyes, kneeling at mass in the King's tent on Hounslow Heath? Had not every shipmaster who had arrived lately from London brought news of the King's appointment of "Papists" to office, in violation of law, and of his efforts to give freedom of worship to "Papists?" Why, this was all part of a "Popish" conspiracy to crush out the Protestant religion! The excitement grew and the story grew with it and was carried about the town until it reached the ears of a considerable merchant of the city, in his fine brick house on or near the southwest corner of the present Whitehall and Pearl Streets. When this merchant, Jacob Leisler by name, heard it his brows contracted in a portentous frown because on the subject of the Pope and the Catholic faith he was a monomaniac. As Jacob Leisler will enact a leading part in the history of New York, what is known of his earlier career may as well be told here. The authorities say that he was born in Frankfort, Germany, but there are traditions that he was born in Switzerland and had a brother, a colonel in the Swiss service. It is also asserted that France was his native land. He sailed from Amsterdam for New York in the ship "Otter," April 27th, 1660, a soldier in the service of the Dutch West India Company. He joined the Dutch Church in 1661, and April 11th, 1663, married Elsje Tymense, the widow of the wealthy Pieter Cornelissen Vanderveen. He assumed charge of Vanderveen's business, it

prospered under his management, and he was soon regarded as one of the principal merchants of the city. By this marriage he became connected with many of the aristocratic families of New York. Balthasar Bayard was his brother-in-law and his wife was the aunt of Van Cortlandt and Phillipse. Mrs. Leisler's brother, Jacob Loockermans, in 1679, conveyed to Leisler all his right to the estates, in New York, of his wealthy father Govert Loockermans and a relative, Dirck Cornellisen.

In 1672, Leisler subscribed fifty guilders in goods toward the repairs of the fort, and in 1674 the Dutch Governor Colve appointed him a commissioner of a forced loan. Leisler's fanaticism brought him in conflict with the authorities in 1676. The Reverend Nicholas Van Rensselaer, who had come out with Governor Andros in the "Diamond" and had been appointed colleague of the pastor of the Albany church, was charged by Leisler with "false preaching" and of uttering "dubious words." Van Rensselaer was arrested, tried and acquitted, and Leisler and Milborne were ordered to pay all costs.

While voyaging to Europe in 1678, Leisler was captured by Turkish corsairs, to whom he paid 2,050 pieces of eight, for ransom. His aversion to Catholics did not deter him in 1683 from accepting an appointment as one of the Commissioners of a Court of Admiralty and a commission as captain of militia in 1684 from a Catholic Proprietor's Catholic Governor. In person Leisler was of medium height, robust frame inclined to stoutness, of austere visage

and addicted to long prayers. Historians, according to their prejudices, have given him all sorts of character ranging from saint to devil. The man was unquestionably honest in his dealings and in his purposes, his mind was vigorous, his temper ungovernable and vindictive, his vanity inordinate, and his whole nature and character were poisoned by his fanaticism.

Andries Greveraet's sloop, from Virginia, dropped anchor off the fort February 5th, 1689, and the skipper, in accordance with custom, went to the fort to pay his respects to the commander. He was ushered into the presence of Nicholson, who asked him:

"What news is in Virginia?"

"Possibly your Honor may have the same here," replied Greveraet.

"We have heard that King James has undoubted news of an invasion by Holland, nothing else."

"The news in Virginia is that the Prince of Orange has landed with an army at Torbay, in England."

"D—n you! What do you say?" shouted Nicholson in an outburst of passion. "Where is the King?"

"I heard he was at Salisbury Plain," answered Greveraet.

"There's burying place enough there for Orange and his people with him. Hath he not had an example of Monmouth?"

"I cannot believe it. If it is so the very prentice boys of London will drive him out again. Don't dare to divulge this news to any one."

A week later the rumor of the Prince of Orange's invasion reached the ears of Jacob Leisler, whether through Greveraet or from the notorious, unfrocked Anglican minister and rabid anti-Catholic, John Coode of Maryland, is not known, but Leisler's knowledge of it doubtless lighted the flame of the hatred that burned in New York for generations. It is even said that Leisler while on a trip to Maryland, about this time, heard the startling news from England. The early days of March brought a delegation and a letter from Governor John Blackwell, of Pennsylvania, confirming the tidings. In it he told Nicholson that he had examined, under oath, Zachariah Whitepaine, a sailor, who had left London in December, and who declared that the Prince of Orange had invaded England. At this time seventeen other letters addressed to people in the city were brought by the same messenger from Philadelphia. Nicholson, after consulting with his council, determined to open and read them, "for the prevention of tumult and the divulging of such strange news." Two of these letters confirmed Governor Blackwell's letter and were retained, the others were sent to the posthouse for distribution.

That night a fast sloop sailed eastward up the East River and a swift horse galloped along the Boston Road, each bearing a messenger from Nicholson to Governor Andros, who, with Major Anthony Brockholls, was with the troops in Pemaquid defending the scattered settlements from Indian depredations.

Nicholson knew the intolerent bigotry of the people with whom he had to deal and realized

the outburst that would follow the news that a Dutch Protestant Prince had invaded England. Matthew Plowman, the English Catholic, who had come to the province as the King's Collector of revenues during Dongan's administration, still held that office. Nicholson and the council sent for Plowman and instructed him, because of the troubles they foresaw, to bring the public money to the fort for safe keeping. It was stowed in a strong chest and securely locked and sealed by the Collector pending instructions from London as to its disposition. There is a story extant that about this time a number of the true and tried supporters of the Stuart dynasty assembled in the cabin of the ship "Beaver," lying in the bay, and that the Jesuit, Father Harvey, solemnly administered to them the oath of allegiance to King James.

The city was quiet until April 26th. On that day Ensign Vesey of Braintree, Massachusetts, arrived from the east with the astonishing news that a revolution had broken out in Boston and that Governor Andros, who had hurried thither from Pemaquid on receipt of Nicholson's message, had been taken into custody and imprisoned. Nicholson immediately asked Mayor Stephen Van Cortlandt to call the Board of Aldermen and Common Council to meet in session with the Royal Councilors then in New York. The afternoon of the 27th, the chief officers of the militia were summoned. The session was characterized by perfect harmony. There was a rumor afloat that war was imminent between France and England, and thoughts of the dilapidated and antiquated fort that must be

depended on to defend the city caused well-grounded uneasiness. Defenses was the first subject considered, and a strong committee, on which Jacob Leisler was named, was appointed to survey and determine on the vulnerable points to be fortified. As a result of the convention's action a company of the militia with colors flying and drums beating, marched through the sally-port of the fort on the night of the 28th, and succeeding nights, to assist the garrison in keeping guard. That no hostile ships should slip unobserved through the Narrows a sentry paced the sands of Coney Island. To furnish funds for restoring the fortifications, the provincial, city and military authorities, in joint session, agreed that all revenues collected after May 1st should be expended for that purpose.

One day a ship of Jacob Leisler's, laden with a cargo of wine, was moored at the great dock. Leisler entered the manifest at the Custom House and the duty being computed footed up about £100. He positively refused to pay any duty on the ground that as Matthew Plowman, the Collector, was a Catholic he, under the new order of things, could not hold the office or receive revenues. During the wrangle that followed this stand of Leisler's the wine was removed from the ship and stored in various cellars throughout the city. Others following Leisler's example, or instigation, took the same position, and revenue collection was at a standstill. The town was by this time full of all kinds of rumors and secret conspirators were at work fostering the spirit of unrest.

The convention's committee on fortifications reported, May 3rd, that seventeen guns, without carriages, were scattered around the city and recommended that four of them should be placed near the widow Richardson's; three on the platform outside of the battery at the water gate of the fort; three or four at the wharf at Whitehall, Governor Dongan's house, built by Peter Stuyvesant; two on the wharf in front of the State House or City Hall. A messenger, covered with the dust of Long Island roads and weary with the fatigue of a long horseback journey, appeared before the council in the City Hall with the news of an uprising in Suffolk County. A meeting of the militia had been held in Southampton, May 3rd, at which a declaration signed by Captains Howell of Southampton, Wheeler of Easthampton, and Platt of Huntington, had been adopted calling on the militia to proceed to New York city to secure the fort, "redeem" public funds and thus save them from "Popery and Slavery." The militia, eighty strong, marched all the way to Jamaica. The true reason for the ardent desire of these Suffolk County warriors to "redeem" the public funds from "Popery and Slavery" was that most of them had served in Dongan's expedition for the defense of Albany, and the impoverished condition of the provincial treasury had prevented their being paid. They evidently thought the time propitious for a "demonstration in force" to urge payment. When the Suffolk County messenger's story had been heard letters were sent to Colonel Young, of Suffolk County, and Major Howell to use every effort to pacify

the people, all of whom were restless because of the story of revolution that had reached them from New England.

A rumor, started on the 6th, that a thousand French and a great horde of Indians had invaded the province from Canada caused a tumult and uproar in the city that not even an official denial could allay. On the same day a formal order passed the board ratifying a previous agreement that the revenues be employed for fortifying the city. It is significant, in the light of subsequent events, that Jacob Leisler and several of his friends cast a negative vote on the proposition. Copies of the order were at once posted on the State House and bridge to assist in calming public apprehension.

The Suffolk County contingent of unpaid veterans, all armed, was still at Jamaica demanding arrears of pay. The convention raised the money, paid them, and they departed for their homes rejoicing, but unfortunately for the officials there were many unpaid discharged soldiers in the city, and these, hearing of the successful demonstration of their Suffolk County comrades, organized a little demonstration of their own, and on the 10th poured in a body into the State House yard, or court, with angry shouts and cries demanding their pay. The provincial and city officers were in session at the time, and they were evidently alarmed by the tumult because they at once resolved "considering the dangerous times" to grant pay orders to private soldiers and "each trouper 6lb." This was satisfactory and the veterans withdrew. Realizing that these popular demonstrations

were not conducive to good order the convention adopted an ordinance to suppress all mutinous persons.

A delegation of militia officers from Long Island appeared before the council next day, and informed it of discontent, suspicion, and jealousy, on Long Island. Letters were sent to Kings, Queens, and Suffolk Counties inviting them to send one or two representatives to the convention, but no attention was paid to the invitation.

Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson and the council addressed a letter on the 15th to the Principal Secretary of State in London giving a detailed account of the condition of affairs in New York and New England, and on the 18th John Riggs, bearing the letters, sailed for London on the ship "Beaver." On the same day George Wedderborne arrived in the city from Boston with verbal instructions from Governor Andros to Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson, of the following tenor:

That the news of the imprisonment of Governor Andros and the other gentlemen be communicated to the members of the council.

That Colonels Andrew Hamilton and William Smith be sent to Boston to demand the release of the imprisoned officials.

That care be used to keep Albany quiet and conceal the imprisonment of Andros from the Indians.

That a well-armed sloop, with provisions, be sent to Major Anthony Brockholls at Pemaquid with instructions to take back the soldiers from posts in that frontier section if required.

Colonels Hamilton and Smith were summoned before the council and the Governor's instructions were communicated to them, but both declined to undertake the embassy to Boston, the former on the ground that he, as a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, must hold court in East Jersey and his absence would disturb the people; the latter alleged that the people at his home in Setauket, Long Island, were restless and suspected him of being a "Papist," and if he left the place the mob might plunder his home and destroy his property. Fear of protracted incarceration in the castle by the Boston authorities may have had some influence on the decision of the colonels. After deliberation it was decided not to send the King's bark with provision for Brockholls at Pemaquid because the people were in a rage. The instigators to rebellion had not been idle. The town buzzed and raged over the skillfully circulated stories that Staten Island was crowded with "Papists," who threatened to burn the city and massacre the inhabitants; that Irish Catholic soldiers were on the march from Boston to garrison Fort James; that Colonel Dongan had an armed brigantine lying in the bay ready for some warlike purpose. There were few Catholics in the city and fewer on Staten Island, and when the Irish Catholic army arrived from Boston it consisted of seven of Andros' discharged regulars, which brought up the strength of the fort's garrison to twenty-two, some of whom were described as "old cripples."

To prepare for emergencies the council sent letters to the justices of the peace and military

officers of Fairfield, New Haven and Hartford Counties, Connecticut, advising them of rumors of war with France (which really had been declared the day before), and asking the assistance of their militia in the event of an attack on New York. At the general meeting or convention held in the City Hall on the 22nd, an ill-penned and unsigned petition was presented by Colonel Nicholas Bayard, commanding the city's militia, who had received it from a deputation of militiamen the night before. It contained "several jealousies and demonstrations of their disturbed minds," among them demands that all Catholics should be disarmed, and concerning Colonel Dongan, "who they desired might come and live in Towne as formerly and not depart this Government." The delegation that handed the petition to Colonel Bayard was sent for, but its members refused to appear and demanded a written answer or the return of the petition. Mayor Stephen Van Cortlandt was instructed to see the petitioners and request them to sign their petition, or send a representative to discourse on it. The mayor yielded to them on all points except that relating to their eagerness for the society of Colonel Dongan, but they were not satisfied and reiterated their demand for a reply in writing or the return of the petition. The convention sent out Captains Leisler and Lodwick to harangue the petitioners, and they promised that two or three messengers would be sent down to Captain Bowne's house at Monmouth, where Dongan was staying, to urge him to return to New York "to remove all jealousies of his departure provided they doe

promise vpon Oath to their respective Captaines that they will doe no harme to his person." The incident is puzzling. Dongan was the ablest military commander in the province. Whether they judged it well to have him in custody before springing their revolutionary plot or whether they desired to have him nearby to command them in the event of a French attack, is a matter of conjecture.

Major Jervis Baxter arrived from Albany on the 27th, and asked the Lieutenant-Governor's permission to withdraw from the province on account of the people's enmity to him because he was a Catholic. Permission was granted and he left the city to join Colonel Dongan at Captain Bowne's.

The long threatening storm burst on the night of the 30th. It was the turn of Captain Abraham Depeyster's company to mount guard in the fort. In posting his sentries Lieutenant Henry Cuyler ordered one of his men to stand guard at the fort's sally-port. The sergeant in command of the regulars objected that the Lieutenant-Governor had given no such orders. Nicholson, who was in the city at the time, returned about eleven o'clock, and the sergeant reported to him that a city militia officer had attempted to place a sentry at the sally-port but that he would not suffer it without the Lieutenant-Governor's order. Hurrying to his room, in a rage, Nicholson sent for Cuyler, who, being rather deficient in English, took Corporal Henry Jacobsen to Nicholson's room to act as interpreter. They found the Lieutenant-Governor preparing for bed. He ordered all from the room except Cuyler.

"Who is commander in this fort, you or I? Why do you place a sentry without my leave?" demanded Nicholson.

"It's my captain's orders," replied Cuyler.

"I would rather see the town on fire or sunk than be commanded by you," shouted the Lieutenant-Governor, in a rage.

Cuyler stepped to the door to summon his interpreter, he said, but it may have been to seek assistance, for Nicholson was an ugly customer to face when in one of his rages. The corporal, a big burly fellow, entered, his sword over his left arm. Nicholson, seated on the side of his bed, was bent over unlacing his stockings. Hearing the step, he looked up and beheld the stalwart militiaman standing immediately in front of him.

"Who called you here?" he cried. "Begone!"

The corporal fell back a half dozen paces, halted, and stared at the Lieutenant-Governor.

"Go out of my room or I'll pistol you," shouted Nicholson.

Striding to the rack on the wall he seized a pistol, cocked it and, aiming it at the corporal, forced him from the room and down the stairs. Cuyler followed. The hour was late, but the town was soon ringing with Cuyler's version of the incident. "The Lieutenant-Governor threatened to pistol Cuyler and his corporal and burn the town," was the story that spread before dawn from Fort James to Stuyvesant's bowery and beyond.

Before noon the face of every burgher and his *huys vrow* blanched with fear on hearing the

awful rumor that Nicholson had threatened to massacre all who attended the Dutch Church on the following Sunday, and then burn the town.

"Why, this Governor and his council are nothing but rank Papists," passed from mouth to mouth; "something must be done to defend ourselves, our families and our city."

The trouble breeders had done their work well, so well that it is impossible not to suspect that it was done systematically, deliberately, and with the sole purpose of overthrowing the government.

The crises came on the 31st. The General Committee or Convention met early in the afternoon. The Lieutenant-Governor spoke, deploring the factious and rebellious attitude of the inhabitants, and said that he was credibly informed that some of the militia officers were the instigators of the discontent. Speeches denouncing the malcontents met with general approval, and all present pledged themselves to uphold the government and the crown of England. It is significant that the last recorded attendance of Jacob Leisler at these meetings was on May 11th. During the afternoon the excitement in the city increased, and it was plain to all that an outbreak was imminent. The Lieutenant-Governor having been informed that most of the city militia was in a state of mutiny, and refused to obey the commands of the loyal officers, asked the Mayor to reconvene the General Committee. As soon as the Mayor had called the assembly to order the trouble began. Lieutenant Henry Cuyler entered and, securing the floor, gave his version of his short

and violent interview with the Lieutenant-Governor in the fort the night before, charging the Lieutenant-Governor with threatening to pistol him and his corporal and burn the town. Nicholson emphatically denied Cuyler's version of the trouble. A heated argument ensued, which was terminated by the Lieutenant-Governor saying to Cuyler:

"Go fetch your commission. I discharge you from being lieutenant any more."

In anger Cuyler, his captain, Abraham De Peyster, and the ensign, left the room. Everyone in the council chamber was seized with consternation because all foresaw the evil consequences that would follow this rupture. The friends of De Peyster crowded around him and urged him to return with his subordinates, pointing out the dire consequences that would result from this breach. They were obdurate and, as they stepped through the doorway, a roar arose from the crowd and shouts of "Treason! Treason!" were raised. The drums of the militia added to the din and, as if by preconcerted plan, the crowd of militia and rabble poured from the yard and turned down Pearl Street in the direction of the fort. Constantly growing as it progressed, it swirled around the corner into Whitehall Street and stayed its progress in front of the Leisler house. Mayor Van Cortlandt and Councilor Frederick Phillipse had left the council chamber and hurried after the mob. Mounting the stoop of the house near Leisler's, they attempted to address the crowd and allay the tumult and excitement, but their voices were drowned by shouts of: "Leisler! Leisler! We

LEISLER'S HOUSE AND THE FORT

are sold! We are betrayed! We will be murdered! It is time for us to look for ourselves!" Leisler refused to appear, the militia and mob swept forward toward the sally-port of the fort, Lieutenant Cuyler admitting them within the walls. The Mayor and Mr. Phillipse, discouraged and dismayed, returned to the City Hall and related to their colleagues the scene at Leisler's house and the fort. When he heard the story Nicholson must have repented his error in not following the advice of Matthew Plowman and other loyalists to bring down the garrison of Albany, and, with other friends of law and order, take possession of the fort, and by training its guns upon the city overawe the lawless.

The magistrates adjourned to William Merritt's house and, while they were in consultation in an upper room, twenty armed men headed by William Churcher and followed by a rabble crowded into the apartment.

"Give us the keys of the fort," demanded Churcher, "we shall and will have them, by force if necessary." Nicholson consulted with his colleagues and replied:

"Let the officer in charge come. I'll deliver them to him."

Satisfied with this reply, the crowd withdrew and the magistrates returned to the City Hall. Presently came to them Churcher and his men, and with them Captain Charles Lodwick. The bullying demand for the keys was coupled with the assurance that if they were not produced forthwith, "They would know what they would do." The magistrates, realizing the futility of further resistance, counseled Nicholson to sur-

render the keys and he handed to Lodwick the key of the receptacle in which the various keys of the fort were kept. The chest in which Collector Plowman had deposited about £773 customs duty and tax money was in the fort. Nicholson's council ordered its removal to Frederick Phillipse's house, but those in control of the fort refused to surrender it.

Next day there was a reaction. Colonel Bayard, the commander of the militia, was asked to take sole command. To offset this, fresh rumors were circulated around the town, verbally and by written pamphlets, that Nicholson and his counsellors were "Papists," rogues and traitors. That night Leisler entered the fort, and assumed command the following day, Sunday, as it was the turn of his company to mount guard in the fort. He announced that the Protestant religion and government were in immediate danger and that the inhabitants must meet "to sign and prevent the same." The militia companies were warned to come to the fort next morning at a certain signal and not to obey their officers if they attempted to stop them. Early on the morning of the 3rd, Captain Lodwick sent a message to Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson, who had found shelter in Frederick Phillipse's house, that an express had arrived from Long Island with the startling report that a squadron of four or five strange vessels, probably French warships, was inside Sandy Hook. The Lieutenant-Governor hastily summoned Mayor Van Cortlandt and Colonel Bayard. After a consultation the Mayor departed to canvass the city and find the messenger who brought the report, but could

find no one who had seen him. It was suspected that the tale about the strange squadron in the bay was manufactured for the purpose of creating alarm and covering the designs of the usurpers. Before the Mayor had completed his search the boom of the fort's guns and the roll of the drums brought the militiamen and the rabble on a run to the plain or parade. Colonel Bayard and his loyal officers endeavored to calm the fears and tumult but were met with abuse, taunts and threats because the rumors about the approaching squadron had been industriously circulated, and the panic-stricken crowd fully expected to see a French fleet round Nutten Island and bombard the fort and city. Colonel Bayard at length succeeded in bringing the militiamen to a military formation and, after keeping the formation for some time and no enemy's ships appearing, he ordered to work the half company whose turn it was to labor on the fortification and dismissed the others. He inquired why the men of Captain Minvielle's company, whose turn it was for duty, had mustered in full strength instead of half the company and, Bartholomew Le Roux, stepping from the ranks, replied that it was related in the city that "Papists" on Staten Island threatened to cut the inhabitants' throats, that the people had fled to the woods or had taken their families on boats, and that the "Papists" had threatened to burn New York, that Mr. De la Prearie had arms for fifty men in his house. Le Roux further asserted that he had positive information that eighty to one hundred men were coming from Boston and other places, "hunted away, no doubt, for their

goodness." Several of them were Irish "Papists," and the Governor designed to take them into the fort, which would not be permitted.

"A good part of the soldiers now in the fort," continued the spokesman of the malcontents, "are Papists, and we think it not secure to be so guarded, and if half a company of the ten or twelve of our men should be permitted to guard, it would not be safe with the fort so weak. This very day there was a complaint that Colonel Dongan's brigantine, fitted out with a considerable quantity of guns and ammunition, water and provisions, her whole loading no other than if she was designed for some warlike purpose, was suffered to depart the port without interruption, and these reasons oblige us to come with the whole company to secure ourselves as best we can against the fears that are put upon us."

Colonel Bayard, addressing the company, replied:

"As to the matter of Staten Island it is false, for I have spoken with a boatman who came from Staten Island, and he informed me that all was peace and quiet on the island. As for Monsieur La Prearie, if you find more than two guns in his house I will give you £20, and if you are afraid you shall go to-night and see, if you will, and I'll lend you my boat. As for Colonel Dongan's barkentine, I've been aboard her myself and saw she was loaded with pipe staves and flour and designed for the Madeiras. As for the guns on the vessel, the captain told me they were for security against the Turks, and that if I would give security to redeem him and his crew

from captivity, if they were taken, he would leave the guns behind. Such security might cost me £3,000 to £4,000 if such a thing should fall out, and I would not venture it. The guns are his own, and I would take no man's goods by force; besides, the captain swears that if any board him he will cut them over the pate or knock their brains out. As for the other reasons, the Governor is an honest man, the Papists are few and insignificant, and you are unwise to fear them."

The colonel's words were without avail and, instigated by Lieutenants Stoll and Churcher, the militiamen surged through the sally-port of the fort, most of their officers reluctantly following them. Captain Gabriel Minvielle was so disgusted with the proceedings that he resigned his commission. Within the fort the mutinous soldiery disarmed the few Catholics in the garrison and drew up an address to William and Mary, setting forth that the fort was held for their Dutch Majesties pending the arrival of a ship bearing instructions for the government of the province. "Our late Governor, Sir Edmund Andros," recited the address, "executing a most arbitrary commission procured from the late King, most in command over us being bitter Papists; our Lieutenant-Governor, Captain Nicholson, although a pretended Protestant, yet contrary both to his promises and pretences, countenancing the popish party, denying to exclude both officers in the custom house and souldiers in the fort, being most Papists, contrary to the known laws of England. . . ."

A sloop from Barbadoes for New York was

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hailed from a wherry off Coney Island, June 3d, and six men armed with muskets, forming the crew of the wherry, boarded the sloop and took the vessel up to the water gate of the fort. Lieutenant William Churcher and a file of militiamen took John Dishington, master of the sloop, into custody and conducted him into the presence of Jacob Leisler. Dishington handed to Leisler several papers and copies of the *London Gazette*, containing the Prince of Orange's proclamation, which were intended for Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson. That night Captain Charles Lodwick entertained a circle of cronies in the tap-room of Ned Buckmaster's tavern, reading to them the contents of Nicholson's newspapers. The same day Nicholas Gerry and Nicholas Delaplaine were conducted to the presence of Leisler for examination.

Two days later Philip French, a well-to-do merchant, who had just returned from England by way of Boston, was approaching the city on horseback. About a mile beyond the wall he was halted by a sergeant and musketeer.

"Whence come you?" demanded the sergeant.

"From Boston," answered French.

"Then stand!" ordered the sergeant.

"Why must I stand?"

"You must stand because it is our order," commanded the sergeant, raising his halberd. "D—n you, do not speak one word more or I'll kill you!"

"Why do you take me," asked French.

"We heard that you were coming and were ordered to take you to the fort."

In custody of the two soldiers French pro-

ceeded towards the city and stopped at Merritt's house to change horses and refresh himself. After warning him to hold no conversation with the inmates of the house, the soldiers waited for him without.

"What if I had come another way into town?" inquired French of his captors when the journey cityward had been resumed.

"You couldn't have come into town any other way without being taken, because there are sentries out all over."

There was a crowd in front of the fort and musket and halberd were brought into play to secure an entrance. Leisler and Lodwick appeared and subjected Mr. French to a searching examination concerning the state of affairs in England.

"Give me the key of your portmanteau," demanded Lodwick.

French produced the key and opened his portmanteau. Its contents were dragged forth and two letters, one addressed to Abraham De Peyster, the other to Major Anthony Brockholls, were found.

"Swear him whether he hath not left any letters behind," suggested some of the people.

"Who is here dare tender me an oath?" demanded French. He was shortly afterward liberated.

Nicholson's efforts to pacify the people failed, and, despairing of regaining control of the government, he decided to sail for England in company with the Reverend Alexander Innes, late Anglican chaplain in the fort, who had been denounced as a "Papist," to report the condition

of affairs to the home government. On applying to the various ship captains in port, they learned that feeling was so bitter against them that the captains refused to accept them as passengers. Nicholson appointed Royal Councilors Phillipse, Van Cortlandt and Bayard to represent him and preserve the peace. On June 10th, Nicholson instructed Collector Plowman to observe his commission and instructions concerning the collection of revenue, and asked Mayor Van Cortlandt to assist him. He caused careful statements to be made of all recent happenings within the province, and shortly afterward went down to Captain Bowne's house at Monmouth. He arrived there just as Dongan's brigantine dropped anchor. Dongan had sailed for England, but a violent attack of seasickness had decided him to return and remain in America for a time. Nicholson purchased a third interest in the vessel, unloaded the cargo, put in twenty-five tons of logwood, and sailed for England June 24th.

The denunciations of Mayor Van Cortlandt and Colonel Bayard as "Papists" became so general that the Reverend Henricus Selyns and the elders of the Dutch Reformed Church issued a certificate vouching for their staunch Protestantism. In compliance with Nicholson's instructions to Collector Plowman, the customs officers were preparing to board a vessel just arrived from the Barbadoes, June 12th, whereupon a file of soldiers from the fort appeared on the scene and threatened to fire on them if they did not desist. The violence inseparable from such uprisings manifested itself on the same day.

Militiamen, who from lack of sympathy for the overthrow of the government, failed to report for duty, were fined and distrained. Liquor was taken from Tudor Kinsland's warehouse, the house of John Crooke and Ned Buckmaster's tavern. Richard Jones' house was robbed by Leislerites, who came to distrain. Major Nathan Gold, with whom Leisler had been in correspondence, and Captain James Fitch, sent by Connecticut to advise the New Yorkers, arrived in the province on the 13th, and Van Cortlandt and Bayard, having been advised of their coming, hurried out to Colonel Morris's house on the Boston Road to meet them, but the visitors went direct to the fort. They handed to Leisler a letter from John Allyn, Secretary of Connecticut, from which the following is an extract:

"Gent^n^, considering what you have don, we doe aduise that you Keep the forte tenable and well manned for the defence of the Protestant religion . . . and that you suffer no Roman Catholicke to enter the same, armed or without armes, and that no Romish Catholick be suffered to Keep armes w^th^in that government or Citty——"

Major Anthony Brockholls and Ensign Bradford arrived by sloop from Boston on the 14th, and were taken into custody and escorted to the fort, Lieutenant William Churcher warning them not to speak to anyone. On the 21st they were liberated and sailed for Monmouth to confer with Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson. The next day the house of Anthony Farmer was surrounded by a mob of soldiers with drawn swords who shouted, "Popish dog and traitor!

You are one of Bayard's crew, that Popish dog and traitor. Come out, we'll open your heart."

Leisler had obtained from Gold and Fitch a copy of a newspaper containing a proclamation of the accession of William and Mary as King and Queen of England. On the 22nd, at noon, William and Mary were proclaimed at the fort to the roll of drums. Mayor Van Cortlandt and the royal councilors called on the Connecticut delegates and asked them for a copy of the proclamation, that it might be proclaimed at the City Hall, but they were told that Gold and Fitch had come "to the persons who had the fort in custody." An appointment was made between the parties for a conference at the mayor's house in the afternoon, and at the hour named Leisler, his captains and the Connecticut men, with an escort of halberdiers, marched to Van Cortlandt's home in Brouwer Street.

"Will you proclaim the King and Queen?" demanded Leisler.

"It's done already," replied the Mayor.

"If you won't do it I will, at the Town Hall," said Leisler.

"You can do what you please," retorted Van Cortlandt.

There was an uproar on the instant.

"He's a traitor! He's a Papist! He's Popishly affected!" were some of the epithets hurled at the city's chief magistrate. Gold and Fitch interfered and sought to calm the tumult. They asked the Mayor to accompany them to the City Hall, where they would proclaim their majesties. The Mayor asked for time to consult the aldermen. One hour was granted him.

The aldermen consented to attend the function, and the officers of the corporation were at the City Hall at the hour appointed. Leisler had marched into the yard at the head of De Bruyn's, Lodwick's and De Peyster's companies of militia. He demanded that the Mayor read the proclamation.

"He that read it before the fort can read it here; I have no clerk," said Van Cortlandt.

In a rage Leisler turned to the crowd that filled the open space in front of the building and shouted:

"If it was to set up a tyrannical King or a Prince of Wales he would do it. You're a traitor! A Papist!" he roared, facing the Mayor.

A babel of hoots, groans and insults arose from the crowd.

"Take hold of the rogue! Papist! Traitor!" shouted the multitude.

"He tells a false untruth," cried Van Cortlandt. "I do not hinder the reading or proclaiming of their Majesties." Leisler's scheme of putting the Mayor in a false position had succeeded, and satisfied with his work he read the proclamation. When the usual ruffle of the drums and cheers of the crowd had ceased, Gold and Fitch, in an evident attempt to bring about a better state of feeling, linked arms with the Mayor and, despite his protests, insisted that he accompany the party to the fort to toast their Majesties. He allowed himself, unwillingly, to be persuaded. The sheriff and a little group of his friends accompanied him. After the King's health had been drunk a hot quarrel broke out, in which the sheriff was disarmed and

roughly handled and the party, including the Mayor, was hustled from the fort. Outside, the inevitable crowd of loungers hooted and jeered them. Late that afternoon a slight fire was discovered in the turret of the church in the fort, under which the powder was stored. It was quickly extinguished, but afforded Leisler an opportunity to proclaim it a "Papistical design," thus adding fuel to the bigoted frenzy. His recognition by the Connecticut government, and success in proclaiming William and Mary, had inspired Leisler with courage and strengthened him in his position, facts that are evidenced by his constantly increasing assurance and aggressiveness. The day following the publication of the proclamation Philip French and a party of merchants were discussing public affairs on the bridge. Leisler and his cronies came up to them and Leisler threatened to cane French.

"You're a Popish dog and devil," he said to French. "You and forty Popish more caballed yesterday at Bayard's house. Before the week's end I'll secure you all." Mayor Van Cortlandt obtained a copy of the King's proclamation of February 14th, which contained a clause continuing "all Protestants in office," and unaware that a proclamation had been issued five days later confirming all persons in their offices in the colony, the Mayor published the earlier proclamation at the City Hall on the 24th. This enraged Leisler, and he charged the royal councilors, good consistent officers or members of the Dutch Reformed Church as they were, with beingly "Popishly affected because they would not recognize his authority."

At a meeting of the royal councilors, the mayor, aldermen and common council, held on the following day, Collector Matthew Plowman was summoned and, being a Catholic, was dismissed from his office. A board of four—Paulus Richards, John Haynes, Thomas Wenham and Colonel Nicholas Bayard, was appointed to supervise and collect the King's revenues. They took the oath of allegiance and supremacy, as prescribed, to William and Mary, and notice of the appointments was affixed to the door of the little Custom House on the Water Side. That afternoon the commissioners met in the building to decide on some plan for managing customs affairs. They had been in session about half an hour when Leisler strutted in, accompanied by Ensign Joost Stoll and eighteen or twenty armed men of Captain Brown's company.

"By what power or authority do you sit here?" demanded Leisler.

"By the only authority their Majesties King William and Queen Mary have in this government, which you can see by the order fixed on the door," was the reply.

Leisler went to the door, read the order and said:

"The members of the council, mayor, aldermen and common council have no power or authority; they and you are all rogues, rascals and devils; you've created yourselves and you, Bayard, are Popishly affected, and you endeavored not above eight days past with two hundred men to retake the fort, and I challenge you to do it yet. Have you taken the oaths to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary?"

"We know not of any authority you have," retorted Colonel Bayard; "if you have any it would be well to produce it, and though we are not bound to give you any account, yet we'll tell you that we have taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary, and you do very ill and are likely to answer before his Majesty for disturbing the peace of his Majesty's loyal subjects. Item, for endeavoring to subject his Majesty's government and for destroying the revenue by law established; but, since we see the sword rules, if you command us to depart the Custom House we will submit and forbear acting further."

"No," replied Leisler, "I'll take a copy of that pamphlet on the door, consider on it and see what I have to do with such rogues and rascals."

With that he and his bodyguard departed. Bayard noticed that the King's arms displayed on the building bore the letter "J," and workmen were summoned at once and replaced it with the initial of King William. No further business was transacted pending Leisler's answer. Two hours later he returned, in a rage, cursing and swearing:

"You devils! You villains, you rogues!" he shouted. "You sat down under the arms of James, that Popish tyrant! I'm sorry I didn't see it; if I had I'd have run you all through with the halberd."

"We had but just come to the Custom House before you entered," said Mr. Wenham, civilly, "and we have not yet acted, save to alter the letter in the King's arms. It's very strange that

you are so forward to kill us for no fault, and you and your people permit to fly from the fort's flagstaff and march under the colors of the late King James, whose figures are to be seen to this very day in your colors. I desire that you desist from railing and cursing and be pleased to argue the matter moderately and civilly."

This calm talk seemed to add fuel to Leisler's rage. Grasping his cane he threatened to strike Mr. Wenham and his associates, and in every action endeavored to incite his followers, some of whom were intoxicated, to open violence.

"'That thing on the door," he roared, "is a pamphlet, and a scrawl, made in a meeting like a Quaker's meeting in a chimney corner. You assumed power to create yourselves, and you're all villains and rogues without authority."

"By what authority do you come here to question the commissioners?" demanded Mr. Wenham.

"By the authority of the choice of the people of my company," replied Leisler.

"Where the King and his power and law are in force no such choice and authority of the people is of any force or virtue," said Mr. Wenham. "Yet, since you come with swords and staves and deny any civil government of his Majesty here, we are still ready to submit if you command us to depart."

The calmness of the commissioners exasperated the Leisler people beyond control. As Mr. Wenham ceased speaking Ensign Joost Stoll sprang at him, seized his neckcloth and dragged him into the street. Outside he was set upon by a howling mob that had gathered, and was beaten

and bruised. Three or four bystanders who voiced their disapprobation of the riotous proceedings were likewise attacked and beaten. The other commissioners, fearing for their lives, endeavored to escape. As Colonel Bayard came from the building he was confronted by Leisler, who shouted:

"I'll be the death of you! I'll run you through! I'll cudgel you with my cane!" Ensign Stoll, with a dagger, lunged several times at Bayard and cut his hat brim in two places. The crowd surged forward and, in the confusion, Bayard took refuge in the house of Peter De la Noy, next door to the Custom House. Catching sight of him as the door was closed behind him the rabble, shouting "Treason! Treason! The rogue will kill Captain Leisler!" crowded around De la Noy's house, battering the door with their firearms and threatening to storm and wreck the building. To add to the uproar and confusion, some of the drummers of the train bands beat the alarm, and from all directions the people hurried until the street was filled with the mob. Fearing the crowd would storm the house, Bayard escaped through the rear and reached a place of safety. The other commissioners escaped without further injury. A gun shot at Colonel Bayard's slave while he was at work in the Colonel's garden and the threats of Leisler and his adherents to have Bayard dead or alive, with warnings of an intention to plunder his house, induced the Colonel to fly to Albany June 28th. Leisler, having routed his foes from the Custom House and thus gained control of the collection of revenues, appointed Peter De

la Noy and George Brewster his commissioners.

Conscious of the necessity for some semblance of authority for his usurpation, Leisler issued a call to the counties and towns of the province to send two delegates to a convention to be held in New York city June 26th. Suffolk, Albany and Ulster counties ignored the summons. Suffolk County petitioned Connecticut to take the county under her jurisdiction because the people "distrusted the purity of his (Leisler's) motives." Not a third of the inhabitants of the province voted. There were twelve delegates present at the opening of the convention, two of them withdrawing on learning that the main purpose of the meeting was to set up Leisler as Commander-in-Chief. The remainder organized themselves into a "Committee of Safety," and signed a commission appointing Leisler: "Captain of the fort at New York." Leisler's enemies asserted that this document was signed under duress of a threat from Leisler that if it was not signed "he would depart the place in one of his vessels and turned privateering."

By authority of this commission he seized the public funds, cleared vessels and organized, later, a company of soldiers, to which Connecticut contributed ten men and two cannon. All Catholics were disarmed, and everyone who refused to recognize Leisler's authority was denounced as a "Papist." The fort's name was changed from James to William. Before departing for home the Connecticut delegates gave out the following advice: "That no papist be suffered to come into ye fort; let not ye warning given that day ye Maties was proclaimed, be

soon forgotten by you, wherein ye terretts in ye fort was fyred in three places, under which roufe lay yor ammunition, soe hellishly wicked and cruell a papisticall design to have destroyed you & us and ye fort & towne it made our flesh to tremble. High praise unto Almighty God that you & we, fort & city, were preserved." A detail of eighteen men sent by night to subjugate "Papist" infested Staten Island and seize all arms found therein, returned with four guns, unearthed in a millhouse on Colonel Dongan's Castleton estate. Leisler set to work with vigor repairing the fort, enlisting even the children by engaging them to gather stones for use in the works. To procure stones for the fortifications, Leisler's soldiers, with colors flying and drums beating, marched up Broadway with the intention of pulling down a stone pigeon house in Colonel Dongan's garden, but were prevailed upon to desist by an offer of fifty cartloads of stone. They also proposed pulling down the wall and stairs of James Graham's house, but were bought off with thirty-six cartloads more.

The Mayor's Court was to convene July 2nd, but Leisler sent word to Paulus Richards that if the court sat the people would haul the magistrates by the legs from the City Hall. The city fathers deemed it advisable to adjourn for a month. On July 10th, Leisler wrote to William Jones, of New Haven: "I hope before two days to one end to have some papists disarmed & also those Idolls destroyed which we heare are dailly still worshipped."

Of the Jesuits who came to New York during Governor Dongan's administration, Father

Henry Harrison seems to have been in the province during 1685; Father Charles Gage during 1686-7; while Father Harvey, "John Smith," who, it will be recalled, came to New York with Dongan, was at his post of duty when the government was overthrown. The allusion in Leisler's letter would indicate that Father Harvey had saved the sacred vessels of the altar, and it is known that he found an asylum and hiding place for some time in the house of William Pinhorne on Broadway. For this act of charitable hospitality Judge Pinhorne, who occupied many important offices during his career both in New York and East Jersey, was taunted in after years.

Word reached Leisler August 2nd that Sir Edmund Andros had escaped from his Boston prison and that Dongan, who was in New London, had gone to meet him. Leisler feared a "bad design" and Major Patrick Mac Gregorie, a Scotchman, who had been loaded with favors by Dongan, offered his services to Leisler to go with a guard and bring his late patron a prisoner to New York. Andros was recaptured and imprisoned in Boston. Ensign George Russell and James Larkin, the latter of whom had been in charge of the Custom House and granary under Governor Dongan, both Catholics, met in New York and drank the health of King James, Larkin asserting that King James was in Ireland and that Protestant, Scotch and Irish, had joined his army. They were seen and overheard. Russell escaped, but Larkin was arrested and arranged before Leisler's Council of War. He was paroled on his pledge of good behavior.

Captain George McKenzie, one of the proprietors of East Jersey, bearing letters from Albany to Nicholson's friends in New York, and aware of the overthrow of the government, landed from a sloop at night near the water mills, west of the fort. He succeeded thereby in saving his letters, but was arrested two days later and subjected to an examination by Leisler and two of his counselors in the fort. Leisler handed him a letter and asked if it was his handwriting. McKenzie admitted that it was. The letter was from McKenzie in reply to one from Colonel Andrew Hamilton, Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania, in which Hamilton, whose wife was ill, asked if it would be safe to take her to New York for medical treatment. In his reply McKenzie wrote that Leisler had threatened to send a company of militia to take Hamilton a prisoner to New York in retaliation for Hamilton's having arrested and examined a detachment sent by Leisler to Jersey. McKenzie wrote: "I would not advise you to come up nor do I think it convenient to ask Mr. Leisler's leave, for by that means you will seem to confess yourself in fault, and if he should grant leave I would not advise you to take his word, for I should not take it in a thing of less moment. . . ." After reading it Leisler said to McKenzie:

"I wonder what wrong I have done you that you should write so of me to wrong my credit. If I knew I had done you any wrong I would ask pardon for it on my knees."

"If I did you any wrong," replied McKenzie, "I would beg yours. I was provoked first by you calling me a Papist, for so I was told."

"That's a very great lie," responded Leisler. After a pause he continued, frowning darkly, "I know you are Popishly affected."

"That's not true," retorted McKenzie. "I am as much a Protestant as you or any man in the country."

"Why," said Leisler, "didn't I hear you call Father Smith [Reverend Thomas Harvey, S.J.] a very good man?"

"Yes," answered McKenzie, "and so I do still. He is a very good-humored man, but I never called him so because he was a Papist, and I was so far from having any friendship for his principles that in all the six years I have known New York I never, so much as out of curiosity, looked into their chapel."

"You kept with Doctor Innes [the Church of England chaplain in the fort]. "You went to hear him and prayed with him; he is a Papist," said Leisler.

"That's not true," retorted McKenzie.

"I have one who swears it."

"I will not believe it if ten of them swear it." There were many more questions and answers, assertions by Leisler, contradictions and denials by McKenzie. At length Leisler said:

"You may call me what you please. I will pray God to bless you."

"I will pray God to bless you," responded McKenzie, who quaintly adds: "In which holy sort of compliment we continued a pretty while until I was civilly dismissed."

Concerning the condition of affairs in New York at this time, Matthew Plowman wrote Lord Halifax: "Ye Siville powar thay doe what tay

please with & foe for his Maties revenues in Generall absolutely deny pay^{t} and noe remedy but worse and worse."

The fort's dungeons were filling up. On the 14th, Thomas Clark, a merchant, was taken from a bed of sickness by an armed posse, without a warrant, charged by Leisler with saying: "The next time the drums beat an alarm he could raise four hundred men." Two days later William Merritt, Jacob De Key, Brandt Schuyler, Philip French, Robert Allison, William Merritt, Edward Buckmaster, and Derick Vanderburgh, most of them persons prominent in the community, were violently taken to the fort and committed to the dungeons. The following day John Tuder, who had a quarrel with Lieutenant Henry Cuyler on the streets, joined the others in the fort's dungeons.

Perry, the postman, accompanied by three students and two attendants from the school at Cambridge, Massachusetts, crossed the river on the Brooklyn ferryboat on August 16th. When the boat touched the New York shore a detachment of Leislerites promptly arrested the New Englanders and denounced them as "Papists." Their letters were seized and read. The fort's drummer sounded the alarm and more than five hundred of Leisler's army assembled: "courageously in arms." The students, having given a satisfactory account of themselves, were released. This dire danger to the "Protestant cause" was seized upon as a pretext by the "Committee of Safety" to make Leisler Commander-in-Chief. Ensign Joost Stoll and Matthew Clarkson sailed for London on the "Bordeaux" packet the

20th, bearing letters from Leisler to William and Mary, notifying them that Leisler had been chosen captain of the fort, but concealing his having been commissioned "Commander-in-Chief of the Province."

Jacob Milborne, a former resident of New York, brother of a prominent Anabaptist minister of Boston, a quarrelsome, litigious person, formerly a business partner of Anthony Brockholls, arrived from Europe on the 25th, and at once espoused the cause of his old friend Leisler.

"In the middle of May last," said Milborne, "I was in England, where all things were settled by the common voice of the people in peace, under King William, who was an elective King and had submitted his regal power wholly to the people, so that it was now become a maxim '*vox populi, est vox dei*, and the King was only a servant of his people." On hearing this the Leislerians were greatly heartened and argued that they had as much warrant for what they had done in New York as had the Prince of Orange for his acts in England.

There were warlike demonstrations among the Indians on the Northern borders, and, September 4th, an express from Albany arrived at the fort asking for men, money and ammunition. The Albanians, having refused to recognize Leisler's authority, he declined to aid them and requested the messenger to notify them to send two delegates to his "Committee of Safety." On the 20th, the Albanians not having responded to his request, he sent three sloops full of armed men, under command of Jacob Milborne, to reduce the city. The attempt failed.

Leisler, on the 28th, wrote to the Maryland Assembly that some Maryland "Papist grandees" were supposed to be in the vicinity of New York seeking an interview with Colonel Dongan, who had been in Rhode Island, but "is now in these parts again, he hes ranged all the country & is mett daily by severall where it may be also they may come, I shall omit nothing if I heare of them to secure them. . . ." Despite the proclamation of William continuing all colonial officials in their places, Leisler ordered the counties to elect civil and military officers. Most of the counties ignored the order; in others, few but Leislerians voted. In Leisler's home ward considerable disorder prevailed. Leisler's son-in-law, Robert Walters, was a candidate for alderman. Leisler entered the polling place and challenged Major Anthony Brockholls's vote, although he was a considerable freeholder in the ward, on the ground of his being a "Papist."

When Leisler voted he said:

"I vote for my son-in-law Walters, my son Jacob votes for his brother-in-law Walters, and my son Walters votes for himself. That's three, put them down."

Walters was declared elected.

Early in October Leisler ordered a municipal election for Mayor and Sheriff in violation of the charter, which provided for the appointment of these officials by the Governor and council. Protestant freeholders only were permitted to vote, and not more than eighty availed themselves of the privilege. Peter De la Noy was declared elected Mayor and Johannes Johnson Sheriff. Leisler's persecution of Mayor Van Cortlandt

became so unendurable that, fearing for his life, he left the city. A detail of soldiers went to his house on Brouwer Straat, demanded the municipal records and seal and insulted Mrs. Van Cortlandt.

The Connecticut authorities had evidently concluded that Mr. Leisler was not a desirable ally, because, October 10th, Secretary Allyn wrote, calling home the Connecticut soldiers loaned for the defense of Fort William.

One of the many informers with which the city was infested, whispered to Leisler that there were many people entering and leaving the house of a certain Catholic. Leisler, sure that he had run to earth " the Papist grandees " from Maryland, sent a company of soldiers, who broke into the house at night, but found no one except the householder and his family. He was disarmed, arrested, dragged to the fort and subjected to one of the cross examinations of which the Captain was so fond. Tidings had reached Bayard in his retirement that his son was very ill in New York. His paternal feelings prompted him to return home, and he wrote to the justices of the peace volunteering to answer any charge that might be brought against him. The magistrates replied: " The sword now rules in the city," and they were powerless to protect him against Leisler. He wrote to his former regimental officers protesting against Leisler. The letter was handed to Leisler, and to neutralize its effect he gathered his adherents from the city, Kings and Bergen (N. J.) counties in the fort and assured them that Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson was a "Popish dog," that he had be-

come a privateer, and would never show his face in London again. He further assured them that he had discovered a plot concocted by Bayard to take the fort with three hundred men. Following these revelations the assemblage renewed their fealty to the "Committee of Safety" and the "Commander-in-Chief."

At this time Colonel Dongan, who was living quietly on his farm in Hempstead, was charged with "holding cabals at his house and other places adjacent, to make an attempt on the fort." Subservient tools of Leisler's were put in the places of officials opposed to him. Domiciliary visits were made everywhere in the hope of capturing Bayard and Van Cortlandt, not even Dominie Selyn's parsonage being exempted.

November 4th and 5th were gala days. On the 4th, the anniversary of King William's landing at Torbay, the sky was crimson with huge bonfires, and a great barbecue was held on the parade. The following day was Guy Fawkes' day, and again the bonfires lighted up the city, while the mob dragged through the streets an effigy of the Pope. Leisler's ambassadors to Whitehall, Ensign Joost Stoll and Matthew Clarkson, were not well received at court, owing to the presence of Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson, and the Reverend Alexander Innes, although Clarkson was appointed Secretary of New York.

November 9th, John Riggs, a messenger from England, arrived in New York. He was met by a squad of soldiers and hurried to the fort. The Royal Councilors Phillipse and Van Cortlandt, surmising that Riggs bore instructions from

London, presented themselves at the fort. Riggs had a packet addressed to Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson or in his absence "to such as for ye time being take care for ye preservation of the peace, etc." The court and Nicholson expected that the packet would be delivered to the royal councilors, to whom the latter had confided the government. Leisler peremptorily demanded the packet, Phillipse and Van Cortlandt also demanding it. Leisler became possessed of it and drove the royal councilors from the fort, denouncing them as "Popishly affected dogs and rogues." The King's letter was shown only to Leisler's adherents. On the following day he assumed the title of Lieutenant-Governor of New York and caused William and Mary to be proclaimed anew. His possession of the King's letter emboldened Leisler, and thenceforth he became more despotic and overbearing. He sent a detail of seven soldiers to Elizabethport, which seized fifty barrels of beef and pork belonging to Matthew Plowman on the pretext that Plowman was indebted to the government and was an absconder. Plowman, in defending his property, assaulted a justice of the peace, and for this "rioutous" conduct and "other scurillous and contemptous expressions against the King's magistrates" a warrant was issued for his arrest. His beef and pork were shipped to Albany to feed the men of Leisler's expedition. Plowman secured the names of the foragers and in quieter times sued them individually in the Richmond County Court of Sessions for the value of his merchandise.

Leisler had frequently denounced the act of

the assembly fixing the customs and excise duties, passed in 1683, as null and void, notwithstanding which he, on December 16th, ordered that they remain in force and that the duties be collected, and he caused a copy of his proclamation to that effect to be affixed to the door of the custom house. The people protested vehemently against this edict, and during the night it was torn down and a paper left in its place, denouncing the proposed collection of duties as illegal. Leisler thereupon posted another proclamation forbidding any one to deface or disturb the pronunciamentos "affixed by authority." Two boys, Jacob DeKey and Cornelius Depuyster, and a slave of Philip French's were arrested, charged with tearing down the orders, and were confined in the fort. Philip French publicly protested against the arrest of his slave, and a sergeant and detail of six musketeers seized him by the arms and legs and carried him to the fort. He retained two eminent attorneys, John Tuder, and James Emmott, but a writ of habeas corpus obtained by them was ignored by Leisler, and French obtained his liberty on January 12th by petitioning Leisler as "Lieutenant-Governor" to liberate him, in addition to giving a bond of £500 for future good behavior. Leisler appointed Jacob Milborne, secretary of the province and clerk of a council consisting of eight of his chief adherents. On Sundays he occupied the Governor's pew in the old Dutch Church "with a large carpet before him," and his councilors sat in the council's pew. He caused the proprietory seal of the Duke of York to be remodeled and adopted it, thus usurping a royal prerogative.

January, 1690, found him firmly intrenched in power. He commissioned courts of Oyer and Terminer and a Court of Exchequer to try those charged with infractions of his customs and excise orders. Tidings reached the city from Boston early in the month that King William had ordered those in command in Massachusetts to send Sir Edmund Andros, Secretary Randolph, and their associates in custody, to London. Bayard, Van Cortlandt, Nicolls and others wrote detailed accounts of the condition of affairs in New York and sent them to Colonel Lewis Morris to give to John Perry, the Boston post rider. Fearing the effect of any revelations of the condition of New York affairs in England, Leisler announced that he had discovered a "hellish conspiracy against the king's government in New York," and sent Daniel Ternure and a squad of men to arrest Perry; he was taken into custody on the Boston Road shortly after leaving the Morris house. He was hurried to the fort, his mail pouch rifled, the letters read, and he was locked in a cell. Because of the facts set forth in the letters, warrants were at once issued for Nicholas Bayard, Stephen Van Cortlandt, Anthony Brockholls, Peter Morris, William Nicolls and Robert Reed for "writing execrable lies and pernicious falsehoods." "I am invested with such power," boasted Leisler, "that in a little time I can command the head of any man in the province, and it will be forthwith brought." In the afternoon of January 21st, Lieutenant William Churcher, a squad of militiamen and a party of civilians, proceeded from the fort to Bayard's house on High Street.

The front door of the house was smashed in with musket butts and the house was searched, but Bayard had escaped to the house of Richard Elliott, a cooper, in the rear. Elliott's house was forcibly entered, Bayard was seized and dragged to the fort. Mayor Van Cortlandt's house was broken into, but Van Cortlandt had fled. That evening William Nicholls was arrested at the Brooklyn ferry and taken to the fort in company with the ferryman's wife who, no doubt, had attempted to prevent his capture. The distinguished prisoners were thrown into the most noisome dungeons in the fort and Bayard, loaded with chains, was seated in a chair and carried around the ramparts, an object of derision for the mob. Ill and dejected he begged Leisler for freedom petitioning him as "Lieutenant-Governor," but without result. Bail in any sum was offered and refused and for thirteen months Bayard and Nicholls remained in the fort's dungeons. One of the crimes with which Bayard was charged was his written allegation that Leisler had offered one Matthias, a servant of Sir Edmund Andros, four crowns and support during his lifetime if he would swear that Sir Edmund was a "Papist."

The city was amazed and horrified on February 15th on receipt of the news that a French war party from Canada had surprised the village of Schenectady, massacred most of the inhabitants and destroyed the settlement. Leisler instantly "made an alarm," charging Bayard and his party with being the cause of the massacre. He disarmed and imprisoned about forty officers who held commissions from Andros and seized one

hundred and fifty commissions. Warrants were issued for Dongan, Brockholls, Plowman, Colonel Thomas Willett, Captain Thomas Hicks and Van Cortlandt. The same day a general warrant was issued: "Fearing too great a Correspondency hath bean maintained between ye ffrensch & disaffected P'sons amongst us," for all "reputed Papists," those who despised or reflected against "Lieutenant-Governor" Leisler, or who had held commissions from Colonel Dongan or Sir Edmund Andros. The warrant for Colonel Dongan read: "These are in his Majesties Name to will and require you to Secure ye Body of Colonell Thomas Dogan wth a Safeguard wthin his owne howse." Willett, Hicks, Whitehead and Antill were to be taken to the fort. On the twenty-first other warrants went out from the fort for Dongan, Van Cortlandt, Brockholls and Plowman. Word of the issuance of these warrants had reached Dongan at Hempstead, and when the Leislerites reached the house on the shore of Lake Success it was empty. Dongan had passed over to New Jersey and sailed thence for Boston "to be quiet."

The great man in the fort had not lost sight of little matters at home while these great affairs of state were in hand. Alderman Kip had been imprisoned "for going in the church to old Mr. Beekman to receive the Alms before he went to young Henry the baker," one of Leisler's council. The Albanians were still holding out against the Leislerites, and John Allyn, Secretary of Connecticut, wrote Leisler urging the use of peaceable measures in dealing with the situation in Albany. The "Governor and Council" of

New York, in reply, wrote the Governor and council of Connecticut, charging their ardent anti-"Papist" friends of earlier days, Secretary Allyn, the Governor and council of Connecticut, with being "encouragers, abettors, aiders and upholders" of the Albany rebellion and demanding that Allyn should be secured for his "traitorous offence" in having levied sums of money for war purposes with Sir Edmund Andros in 1688.

Leisler wrote the unfrocked Maryland minister John Coode asking the assistance of Maryland and Virginia in an attack on Canada. An expedition of one hundred and sixty men under Milborne arrived at Albany, March 20th, and under pressure of necessity the city surrendered to him. In March the Netherlands' West India Company's ship "Prophet Elias," bound for Holland from Curaçao, put into New York for repairs and provisions. Leisler took from her, "on the King's account," five 12-pounder and three 6-pounder guns. He wrote to one of his friends, Bishop Burnet, of Salisbury, asking him to arrange for payment. The post from Maryland, April 4th, brought a letter from John Coode that contained news that confounded and amazed Leisler. In it he was told that Nicholson, whom he had denounced but a short time before as a "Papist" and pirate who would never dare show his face in London again, had been appointed by King William, Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia.

An assembly, to which several of the counties refused to send delegates, was convened in the house of Leisler's son-in-law, Robert Walters, April 24th. An act was passed providing for

raising three pence in every pound, real and personal, payable June 1st. It was further decreed, as a sop to the Albanians, that all places in the province should have the right to bolt, bake and transport flour where they pleased, a monopoly previously enjoyed, it will be recalled, by New York city. Petitions for the release of the twenty-two prisoners, crowded into the fort's dungeons and for the relief of the people's grievances poured in on the assembly and caused Leisler to prorogue that body.

The first American Congress, made up of delegates from the English Colonies, called together by Leisler, met in New York, May 1st, to devise ways and means to make war on New France. As a result of this meeting, Leisler agreed with the other delegates to attack the French possessions by land and sea. Commissions were issued to the captains of the ship "Blessed William," brigantine "John and Catherine," sloop "Resolution" and sloop "Royal Albany," to proceed to join the fleet that was to attack Quebec, and to take prizes, and to the sloop "Edward" to cruise about Block Island and the Sound. The imposition of the war tax and Leisler's arbitrary government were arousing a spirit of opposition, and although the drummers accompanied the recruiting officers throughout the city, the efforts to find crews for the little squadron met with slight success. Even the promise of prize money failed to awaken interest. It is said that Leisler's council considered a project to man the vessels by impressing the principal anti-Leisler inhabitants, but the scheme was abandoned. The crews were finally

shipped, and May 26th the New York squadron sailed to join the fleet. Ugly rumors reached the city on May 19th, from the military contingent in Albany. It was said that the New York soldiers did nothing but drink and that " the widow Schuyler had beaten Jacob Milborne and that Leisler's agents were forced to fly to Esopus."

Leisler quickly learned the truth of the old adage that " troubles never come singly." There was an important document drawn and signed by some of the principal inhabitants, including Dominie Varick, Pastor Peirret, five officers of the Dutch Church, and three of the French Church, appealing to William and Mary to deliver the province from Leisler's rule. " To our Great Greife," it read, " we find ourselves sorely oppressed, having groaned neare twelve months under the burthen of Slavery and arbitrary Power executed over us by the inraged fury of some ill men among us who have assumed your Ma^{tys} Authority over us, overturned all civill power (notwithstanding your Ma^{tys} Proclamacôn for continuing all justices of the Peace &c) ruling us by the sword at the sole Will of an Insolent Alien (he being none of your Ma^{tys} natural borne subject) assisted by some few whom he can give no better name than a Rable, those who formerly were scarce thought fit to bear the meanest offices among us, Severall of whom can also be proved guilty of enormous crimes, by these your Ma^{tys} poor distressed and almost ruined subjects are dayly opprest, being dragged into Prison into your Ma^{tys} Guarrison here by Armed Soldiers and Irons put on us, without any Warrant or Mittimus, and not only

bare imprisonment but shut up in dark noisome Holes, denyed the accesse of our Friends or any Relief by the law seizing our estates without any Tryall or Conviction plundering our Houses by armed Soldiers pretending it is for your Maties Service Stopping all Processe by Law Seizing and opening all our Letters which we either receave from or send to any Parts fearing least we might make our case Knowne to your sacred Maties to the manifest ruin of our Trade Scandallizing and abusing our Ministers and Rulers of the Reformed Churches here seizing ye Revenues thereof so that our liberties are taken away our Religion in great Danger our Estates ruined sev^{ll} of the best and most considerable Inhabitants are forced to retire from their habitations to avoid their fury to the utter ruin of their Families."

Leisler had purchased, in 1689, for the Huguenots, a tract of land in Westchester County now known as New Rochelle. Notwithstanding the friendly relations that had existed between Leisler and the people of New Rochelle, no section of the province more bitterly denounced the imposition of the war tax. A delegation from New Rochelle, headed by Captain Cottomaer of the New Rochelle militia company, journeyed down to the fort and had a heated interview with Leisler.

"Orders have come to our town," said Cottomaer to Leisler, "to choose Collectors and Assessors to levy a certain tax. We won't pay the tax. It's arbitrary."

"The tax is made by order of the General Assembly," replied Leisler, "and therefore not

arbitrary and it is levied to carry on the war against the French."

"It's an unnecessary war against the French," responded Cottomaer, "if the French have made some small outrage or skirmish above Albany it's not worth while to make war therefor, at least it doesn't concern our place."

It does concern the whole province and the tax will be levied," said Leisler.

"We'll pay none," asserted Cottomaer, "the King of England invited the French Protestants to his Kingdom, promising them that their lives would be sweet to them. The King promised in a Declaration to maintain us if we should want, and by the King's authority we demand assistance because we are in want of it now."

"I have the executive power," announced Leisler, "and I'll find a way to collect the tax."

"We'll oppose and resist its collection," retorted Cottomaer, "and those who come to fetch it will find it bad enough." All of which tends to indicate the spirit of revolt rife against Leisler's authority.

Ensign Joost Stoll, Leisler's ambassador to Whitehall, landed in the city May 20th. His embassy had been a dismal failure and he had been ignored at Court. The crowning blow was his announcement that Colonel Henry Sloughter had been appointed Governor of New York.

A sailor from England brought the tidings that in Plymouth he had been told, by some skippers and prisoners from France, that eight stout French men-of-war were fitting out to take New York and fortify it. Secretary Allyn wrote, May 28th, to Leisler that half the troops

in Albany, destined for the invasion of Canada, were sick with dysentery and fever.

The commissioned officers from the fort went to the City Hall, June 6th, to proclaim from the steps the orders of Leisler's council of war, held the day before, ordering the people "to keep strict watch and proceed with the fortification of the city." A crowd of about fifty anti-Leislerites assembled. Some of the people concluded that the object of the reading was to announce stringent measures to collect the war tax. They shouted denunciations of the measure, swore they would pay no tax, and demanded that the reading cease until the prisoners had been released from the fort's dungeons. One of the officers, amid jeers, laughter, and general uproar, directed the Clerk to proceed with his reading.

The High Constable commanded the Petty Constable, Edward Buckmaster, to see that the peace was preserved, but, instead of drawing forth his official truncheon, "mine host" Buckmaster produced a club and lined up with the malcontents.

"Read on!" commanded Sheriff Johannes Johnson, whereupon Jeremy Tuthill seized Ensign Abraham Brasher and attempted to pull him off the steps. Brasher resisted and a scuffle ensued, in which Robert Allison and his cane played a part. Others became involved, and the mêlée was fast developing into a riot. John Smith created a diversion by calling on the crowd to go to the fort and demand the release of the prisoners. With three hearty cheers the mob moved along Pearl Street, streamed across the bridge and, turning into Whitehall Street, came face to

face with—Mr. Jacob Leisler. A spokesman of the crowd was about stating the object of their coming, to demand the release of the prisoners, when the conference was rudely interrupted by the hurried approach of Leisler's son Jacob and a party of his friends, all with swords drawn. This was the signal for another outbreak. Leisler was set upon and roughly handled. John Crook, a cooper, lunged at him with an adze, but, whirling his cane about him, Leisler struck in the mouth two of his assailants who sought to prevent him from drawing his sword. He succeeded in clearing a space around him, drew his weapon, and fell back in the direction of the rescue party. Others, in the fort, attracted by the commotion, hurried to the scene, and after a short struggle carried twenty of the crowd into the fort to join the prisoners already there.

The following day Leisler issued a proclamation that all who would not sign a declaration of fidelity to him as representative of King William would be deemed enemies of his Majesty and the country and treated accordingly. Dispatches were sent to King William and Lord Shrewsbury that the expeditioin for the conquest of Canada was about to begin operations. Leisler commissioned his crony, Jacob Milborne, Commander-in-Chief. Connecticut and Massachusetts entered a vehement protest against the appointment, and Fitz-John Winthrop was substituted. The expedition was mismanaged from the start, owing largely to the incompetency and jealousy of Leisler and his agents, and Winthrop was imprisoned by Leisler, whereupon the Connecticut troops and their Indian allies became so

threatening that Leisler was forced to liberate Winthrop. The Connecticut government was furious over the indignity to the Commander-in-Chief, sternly rebuked Leisler, and told their one time anti-" Papist " ally that " a prison was not a *catholicon* for all State maladies, though so much used by you." The bringing of some French prizes into New York was about the sole result of the naval expedition.

The news of the breach between Leisler and the Connecticut authorities traveled to New York, and one morning in June, during some military exercises in the fort in New York, five Connecticut soldiers, in the presence of their company, stepped from the ranks and threatened to lay down their arms and desert if they were not permitted to return home. About the same time eight civil prisoners, after taking the oath of allegiance to Leisler, were liberated. Naturally aggrieved over their imprisonment, they demanded an interview with Leisler, and Captain Tuder was admitted to an audience as their spokesman; but Leisler did all the talking, in the following strain:

" By the proclamation you were hectored out of the late King James but you remain still affected to the Papists and you have said you loved them as well as Protestants and that we were all rebels. You laughed and railed at the militia and gave ill language to your Captain. You failed to appear in arms when the alarm was sounded and you were distrained for neglecting to work on the fortifications, discouraging the people thereby. And if all that wasn't enough, you did not contribute silver, gold or precious stones to

erect a Jesuit college in this city, but you, with Judge Palmer and Graham, offered your sons to it and they went twice daily to be instructed by that hellish brood of Jesuits without being able to draw one sole child more. We have less cause to trust you in these times of war when we find on one occasion you did not spare your own son."

Tuder signed the petition and was liberated. From this time until his downfall, Leisler's bigotry, together with his anxieties and difficulties, seem to have culminated in a sort of mania. He was absent in Albany, September 1st, the day set for the opening session of his assembly, which did not, in consequence, convene until his return on the 18th. Some of the laws passed were as follows: All persons who had left the province were commanded to return within three weeks after the law's publication or be " deemed and esteemed as persons disobedient to the government." A new tax-levy was authorized for the support of the fort's garrison. A fine of £75 was imposed on any one who refused to accept a civil or military appointment from Leisler. Any one leaving Albany or Ulster counties without his permission would incur a fine of £100. Merchandise brought down the Hudson from Albany or Ulster without Leisler's license would be confiscated. Refugees from Albany and Ulster were commanded, " at their utmost peril " in the event of disobedience, to return within two weeks of the law's publication. " In the annals of popular legislation," says Brodhead, " it would be difficult to find more despotic laws than these."

Having disposed of all the " Papists," Leisler

had begun the persecution of the ministers of the various Protestant churches who opposed his despotic rule. In a letter to the Classis of Amsterdam, September 14th, Dominie Henricus Selyns wrote concerning conditions at that day in New York: "Dominie Varick and myself have suffered more than can be believed and are forced to cultivate patience. May the Lord in his Providence incline the hearts of their Majesties to send over some one to take charge of this government who can heal the rupture, remove the cause of dissension and tranquilize the government. Otherwise we have resolved to relinquish everything and return to Holland; or like Elias hide ourselves in the wilderness and administer the service of Christ ultra Garamantos et Indos."

Dominie Godfrey Dellius, a friend of the Jesuit Father Lamberville and a missionary worker among the Indians, opposed Leisler, who sought to imprison him in Fort William, but he fled to Boston. Dominie Rudolphus Varick, of Flatbush, Long Island, one of the signers of the protest against Leisler in May, was obliged to flee to Newcastle, Delaware, for uttering his sentiments too freely. He returned to New York, was arrested and imprisoned in the fort "for speaking treasonable words against Captain Leisler and the fort." A special commission appointed to try him sentenced him to be "deprived of his ministerial functions, amerced in a fine of £80, and to remain in close prison until that fine should be paid." Dominie Selyns, Leisler's pastor, offered bail for Dominie Varick, which was refused, and Selyns was "grossly abused by

Leisler himself in the church at the time of divine service and threatened to be silenced." Varick afterwards made his submission to Leisler and was released. The two French Huguenot ministers, Antoine Peirret and Pierre Daillé, were frequently abused and threatened by Leisler, "because they would not approve of his power and disorderly proceedings."

Towards the end of October there was an outbreak against Leislerism in Queens County "in a riotous and rebellious manner, and Milborne and two others were commissioned to subdue all" that are refractory to the established government, "with all violence and hostility on Long Island." The commissioners and their followers carried out their instructions to the letter, to the great loss and distress of the inhabitants. The people of Hempstead, Jamaica, Flushing and Newtown formally protested against Leisler's violence, in which document Jacob Milborne was thus arraigned: "The former [Jacob Milborne] famous for nothing but Infamy, whom I doubt not but long ere this time your Lord^{p} has received the true caracter of by better hands, but one thing I cannot omit letting your Lord^{p} Know, that this very Jacob Milborne which now does so Tyrannize over there Maj^{ties} loyall subjects, was once convicted of a crime which deserved death, had not great clemency bin shewn him by those whom chiefly now hee persicutes, which was for clipping and defacing the King's coine——"

In December, a Boston friend of Leisler's wrote him that Sloughter's arrival might be expected any day, and advised him that it would be

well to temper justice with moderation and mercy.

The year 1691 opened ominously for Leisler. In the early days of January revolt against Leisler's rule and disorder spread, involving even the city's militia. On January 29th, the ship "Beaver" and the storeship "John and James" dropped anchor in the lower bay. Boatmen arriving in the city reported that the "Beaver's" deck was crowded with red-coated soldiery. Stephen Van Cortlandt and a large delegation of anti-Leislerites hurried down to the ships and found Major Richard Ingoldsby, who had served in Holland and with William in Ireland, in command. On board was a company of regular infantry. As passengers on the "John and James" were Councilor Chidly Brooke, Collector and Receiver of New York, and Secretary Clarkson. The visitors learned that the "Archangel," frigate, Captain Jasper Hicks, having as a passenger the Governor, Colonel Henry Sloughter, the "Beaver," the "Canterbury" and the storeship "John and James," had sailed from the Isle of Wight and had separated at sea. The three ships, having no sailing directions, steered for New York, expecting to find the "Archangel" in port. Ingoldsby was informed of the condition of affairs in the province and urged to land his regulars and take possession of the fort. He sent Collector Brooke, Lieutenant Shanks and Ensign Simmes, Ingoldsby's brother-in-law, to Leisler to demand possession of the fort for the King's forces and stores. Leisler was angered at the demand—was willing to receive the stores, but not the troops.

"Who has been appointed to the Provincial Council?" he asked Brooke.

"Phillipse, Van Cortlandt, Nicolls and Bayard," answered Brooke, mentioning the Councilors' names.

"What! those popish dogs, rogues," he shouted in a violent rage; "Sacrament! If the King should send three thousand such I would cut them all off!" He refused positively to surrender the fort until Ingoldsby produced definite orders to that effect from William or Sloughter. He sent De la Noy and Milborne on board the "Beaver" to inspect Ingoldsby's orders and offer him all sorts of accommodations. Ingoldsby replied:

"I have seen the copy of his Majesty's letter directed to Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson but cannot find how you may derive any authority to yourself from thence. I want not the accommodations you speciously offer to his Majesty's soldiers under my command. Possession of his Majesty's fort is what I demand from you; and if you refuse that, I must esteem you no friend to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary."

Ingoldsby's knowledge that his company of regulars was vastly outnumbered by the Leislerites induced him to issue a command on the 30th to Captain Samuel Moore to furnish him the aid of the Long Island militia against the rebels who opposed his Majesty. Leisler protested against this order and called on the neighboring militia to obey him. The last night of January, as a squad of soldiers was boarding the "Beaver" from a small boat, there was a spurt of fire and

the crack of a musket from the fort. Ingoldsby protested against this outrage, and Leisler replied disavowing responsibility for the act. The ship "Canterbury," with another company of regular infantry, arrived February 2nd, and Leisler ordered Major Beekman to entertain the soldiers should they land on Long Island, provided "they were not hostile and committed no unlawful acts."

The battle of proclamations waxed hot. Ingoldsby issued one February 2nd, to allay malicious rumors industriously circulated by the Leislerites, that he had come to protect and not to disturb the people. Leisler followed with one the following day, announcing Sloughter's appointment as Governor and that the fort would be surrendered to him. He directed that Ingoldsby and his soldiers should be entertained in the city, offering his houses for their accommodation. Another proclamation was issued from the fort on the 5th, against certain persons on Long Island, for arresting Leislerites and seizing Leisler's orders.

On the 6th, boatloads of red-coated regulars pulled away from the "Beaver" and "Canterbury," and with all the precautions usual when landing in an enemy's country, disembarked in the city. The troops were quartered in the City Hall and an adjoining building. Ingoldsby, on the 14th, demanded the release from imprisonment of Bayard and Nicolls, appointed Royal Councilors. Leisler replied that they must remain in confinement until his Majesty's further orders. Affairs were quiet for a time, awaiting Sloughter's arrival. The Leislerites circulated

reports that Ingoldsby and his men were "Papists and disaffected persons fled from England, that their commissions were forged, and they were enemies of King William and Queen Mary." The Councilors, reinforced by the arrival of another of their number, Joseph Dudley, from Boston, met and endeavored to pacify the people, but notwithstanding their efforts the city was rapidly assuming a warlike aspect. Armed detachments from all parts of the province came to swell the fort's garrison. Boatloads of stores were taken into the fort. There was great activity within its walls, and one by one the guns were removed from the river side and their frowning muzzles trained on the city. The regulars in the City Hall observed the usual military routine. The Leislerites objected strenuously to their going the rounds and threatened destruction if it did not cease. One night, as a squad of regulars, under command of a sergeant, was passing the fort, the Leisler garrison sallied forth and seized the soldiers. They were liberated after a night's imprisonment, a messenger and drummer from Ingoldsby demanding their release. This month Jacob Milborne and Mary, the daughter of Jacob Leisler, were married. It is doubtful if a sadder wedding ever took place in the city.

The council, March 4th, issued a call to the militia of the near-by counties for aid, and Major Ingoldsby was directed to take proper steps for the protection of his Majesty's subjects and property. Leisler followed with a proclamation, next day, declaring that he was constrained to take up arms in defense of their Majesties' supremacy and denouncing "the il-

legal, unwarrantable and undue practices" of the Royal Councilors and Ingoldsby. These proclamations were, in effect, declarations of war. The people of Kings and Queens counties met at the ferry and adopted a peace address. Gerardus Beekman, a one time prominent Leislerite, carried the address to Leisler, but it made no impression on him. His garrison of three hundred men was increased by levies from the nearby settlements to five hundred. Leisler and his Council denounced Ingoldsby because "the said Major did Excite induce encourage & head great numbers of Papists and french . . . with force of arms to show themselves in a Rouatous hostile manner putting the rest of the good inhabitants of the city in fear of their lives and possessions." There was an uprising on the 8th, in Westchester County, in Leisler's favor, but it did not assume alarming proportions.

The blockhouse at Smit's Vly was occupied by the Leislerites under command of Captain Gerret Duyckinck and Ensigns Brasher and De Milt, on the 13th. The next day Secretary Clarkson issued a call to the military authorities of Kings, Queens and Suffolk counties, and New Jersey, to hurry their militia levies to New York. Connecticut was asked to send three or four hundred men. In these preparations valuable service was rendered Ingoldsby by Captain William Kidd, afterwards of piratical fame. In a proclamation dated the 16th, Leisler wrote: "That the said Major Ingoldsby hath upheld and protected armed Papists who put the good people in fear of their lives by holding loaded muskets to their bodies. That he employs and

entertains Frenchmen suspected Papists, to spy and endeavor to betray the fort by night, and who were captured in the act Extraordinarily armed." He called on Ingoldsby and the council to disband their forces, or he would destroy them as "impious and unreasonable men." An answer to this demand was required within two hours.

Ingoldsby and his advisers realized that this threat meant war, and active preparations were begun to meet it. Men were hurried to the ends of the streets leading to the fort and blockhouse, and with all speed brawny arms, under the direction of the officers of the regulars, threw up earthworks, mounted cannon and erected barricades across the thoroughfares. The day after the receipt of Leisler's last fulmination the Councilors sent him a reply that they and the forces held King William's commissions and wished to preserve the peace, and that any one who attacked them would be public enemies to the crown of England. A quarter of an hour after this message had been received at the fort, and while Ingoldsby's regulars were on parade in the yard of the City Hall, there was a burst of smoke from one of the fort's great guns, a flash and roar, and a ball struck the wall of a building near the City Hall. Leisler, it is said, fired this gun with his own hand. This was followed by other shots from the fort and by volleys of musketry, until the lower part of the city was dense with powder smoke. The fort's guns were answered from the earthworks, and by the bursting of a defective cannon six of Ingoldsby's partisans, among them Major Patrick MacGreg-

orie, who had again changed his colors, were killed. In order that Ingoldsby's forces might be caught between two fires, Leisler had ordered Ensign Brasher, who was in command of the Smit's Vly blockhouse, to support the fort's fire, but Brasher, unwilling or afraid to oppose the King's troops and the three guns mounted against the blockhouse, went to the fort for further instructions. He was promptly locked in a cell for disobedience of orders. The garrison of the blockhouse, deserted by their commander, fled and the King's troops took possession.

At nightfall the fort's fire ceased. The day's casualties, apart from those killed by the bursting gun, numbered two killed and seventeen wounded. About a thousand shots were fired from the fort, and it is said that cannon balls were heated red-hot to fire the town; but evidently wiser counsel discouraged their use. Next morning the firing from the fort was renewed for a time, but although Ingoldsby held every man of his forces under arms, fearing a sally from the fort or a bombardment of the city, he did not return Leisler's fire. To distinguish his men from the Leislerites, he ordered them to wear white bands on their left arms.

The long-looked-for frigate "Archangel" sailed into the bay on the 18th and dropped anchor below the Narrows, four months out from the Isle of Wight. Next day Joseph Dudley and the other members of the council sailed down the bay in a brigantine and, boarding the "Archangel," gave Governor Sloughter an account of the critical condition of affairs in the city and urged him to hurry to the scene. They learned

that the "Archangel" on parting from the squadron had steered for Bermuda. A severe storm had nearly wrecked the ship on the rocks at Bermuda. The damages to the vessel, including the loss of fifty feet of her keel, required three weeks to repair, and six weeks had been consumed in the voyage from the island to New York. The Governor hastened to New York in the frigate's pinnace, and as the little craft shot into sight of the city, after passing Nutten Island, volleys of cheers and other manifestations of the people's joy struck terror into the hearts of the occupants of Fort William. Soon the loud clangor of the bell on the City Hall attracted a great crowd. The Governor and Councilors appeared on the steps. His commission was read, and he took the oath of office, administering it in turn to his council. This oath was the following infamous test oath, administered officially for the first time in New York:

"I, Henry Sloughter, do solemnly and sincerely in the presence of God, profess, testifie and declare, that I do believe that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper there is not any transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever; and that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary or any other saint, and the sacrifice of the Mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous. And I do solemnly in the presence of God, profess, testify and declare that I do make this declaration and every part thereof in the plain and ordinary sense of the words read unto me, as they are commonly

understood by English Protestants, without any evasion or mental reservation whatsoever, and without any dispensation already granted me for this purpose by the Pope or any person whatsoever, or without any hope of such dispensation from any person or authority whatsoever, or without thinking I am or can be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration, or any part thereof, although the Pope or any other person or persons or power whatsoever should dispense with or annul the same, or declare that it was null and void from the beginning."

These preliminaries finished, the Governor directed Ingoldsby and his company to march to the fort and demand entrance. Leisler refused to admit them and sent Stoll to Sloughter to identify him and demand "orders under the King's own hand directed to him." Ingoldsby was ordered back to the fort to demand possession and the release of Councilors Bayard and Nicolls, to attend his Majesty's service, and the presence at the City Hall of Leisler, Milborne and "such as are called his Council." Leisler replied to the demand "that the fort was not to be given up on such easy terms." Milborne and De la Noy were sent with Ingoldsby to the Governor "to capitulate," Leisler refusing to go personally or to liberate Bayard and Nicolls. On arrival at the City Hall, Milborne and De la Noy were at once arrested and turned over to the guard.

About midnight Ingoldsby again presented himself before the fort and repeated his former demand, which was peremptorily refused. Early next morning, Friday 20th, the "Archangel,"

frigate, rounded Nutten Island, and taking a position in the channel off the fort, cleared decks for action. The Governor and council met in the City Hall, and had not been long in session when a letter was received from Leisler, in which he said: "I see very well the stroke of my enemies, who are wishing to cause me some mistakes at the end of the loyalty I owe my gracious King and Queen." He begged the Governor to receive the fort. His letter was unnoticed. Shortly afterwards the King's troops, under command of Ingoldsby, marched from the City Hall to the plain or parade, and Ingoldsby, advancing to the fort, made a peremptory demand for its surrender, threatening in the event of a refusal to carry it by assault. After a pause he was informed that he might enter alone. He found the fort crowded with Leisler's adherents. He addressed them, calling on them by the Governor's orders to ground their arms and march out, promising full pardon to all except Leisler and his so-called council. The fort's garrison, eager for peace on such favorable terms, threw down their arms and poured out through the sally port. There was an immense crowd of spectators and a storm of derisive cries, hoots and groans greeted the appearance of the Leislerites. As soon as the vanquished had passed beyond the lines of the King's troops, many of them were seized and roughly handled by the people. At the word of command the soldiers marched into the fort and the reign of Leisler was at an end. Bayard and Nicolls, showing pitiably the effects of their ill-treatment, were released from their underground dungeons, and it

is significant of the sufferings they endured that the Leislerites afterwards confined in the same dungeons petitioned for release from them on the plea that they would "not admit of common conveniency for life & nature." Strongly guarded, and looking downcast and fearful, Leisler and his advisers were marched through jeering crowds to the City Hall. The chain from Bayard's leg was put on Leisler's, and he and his councilors were committed to the custody of the guards. That day Sloughter entered the fort and renamed it "William Henry."

Dominie Selyns preached before the Governor on Sunday the 22nd, taking his text appropriately from the XXVII Psalm: "I had fainted, unless I had believed to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living." The Governor, on Monday, appointed Councilors Dudley, Van Cortlandt and Brooke to examine the prisoners. They asked Sloughter for a personal hearing, but he decided they should be heard before a court, and accordingly a special commission of Oyer and Terminer was ordered. The court consisted of Joseph Dudley and Thomas Johnson, appointed Judges in Admiralty, with Sir Robert Robinson, former Governor of Bermuda, Colonel William Smith, Recorder Pinhorne, and John Lawrence of the council; Captain Jasper Hicks of the "Archangel," Major Ingoldsby, Colonel John Young and Captain Isaac Arnold of Long Island, or any six of them, "one of the Judges always being one." The prisoners were committed to the custody of Sheriff Lyndall for trial on charges of traitorously levying war against the King and Queen, counterfeiting

their Majesty's great seal, murdering Josiah Browne (killed by a shot from the fort), "for holding by force the King's fort against the King's Governor after the publication of his commission, and he had thereby become Chief Magistrate and after a demand had been made in the King's Name, and in the reducing of which lives had been lost."

The grand jury found an indictment charging the prisoners with treason and murder. On being arraigned, eight of the prisoners pleaded not guilty. Leisler and his son-in-law Milborne refused to plead and were tried as mutes. Early in April the Provincial Assembly unanimously resolved that Leisler's act had been "tumultuous, illegal, arbitrary, destructive and rebellious; and that the massacre at Schenectady could only be attributed to the disorders and disturbance of those who had usurped a power contrary to their Majesty's authority and the right of Government over this province." The Governor and council agreed to this resolution and ordered its publication. Another act of this assembly allowed to Dominie Dellius, in consideration of his services among the Mohawks, sixty pounds, "formerly paid yearly to two Romish Priests that attended on Governor Dongan."

After a trial of eight days, concluded April 20th, the court found guilty, Leisler, Milborne, Abraham Gouveneur, Gerardus Beekman, Johannes Vermilye, Thomas Williams, Myndert Coerten and Abraham Brasher; not guilty, De la Noy and Edsall. Presiding Judge Joseph Dudley pronounced sentence of death. On the advice of the judges the Governor reprieved the

prisoners, on their petition, until the King's pleasure should be known, "unless any insurrection of the people necessitate their execution." The assembly, May 13th, passed an act declaratory of the rights and privileges of their Majesty's subjects, with a proviso that it was not "to give liberty for any person of the Romish religion to exercise their manner of worship contrary to the laws and statutes of their Majesty's kingdom of England."

The excitement caused by the conviction and sentence of Leisler and his adherents had been constantly increasing. Sloughter wrote to the home government, May 27th, "If his Majesty shall please to grant his pardon for all except Jacob Leisler and Jacob Milborne it will be a favor." A petition for the pardon of the condemned was circulated and extensively signed in Staten Island and Westchester County. Pastor Daillé was cited before the council, and others were imprisoned for circulating these petitions, as promoters of riots and disturbance. Dominies Selyns, Varick and Dellius preached and talked of Leisler's tyrrany, and many of the women of the city demanded his execution. The Mohawks, disturbed by Leisler's misgovernment, were said to be negotiating a treaty with the French. Sloughter, perplexed by the condition of affairs, asked the advice of his council, and it was unanimous: "That as well for the satisfaction of the Indians, as the asserting of the Government and authority residing in his Excellency, and preventing insurrections and disorders for the future, it is absolutely necessary that the sentence pronounced against the prin-

cipal offenders be forthwith put in execution." Sloughter signed the death warrants of Leisler and Milborne on the 14th, leaving the other prisoners under reprieve. Dominie Selyns announced to the condemned their fate that evening and exhorted them to prepare for death.

From leaden skies a drenching rain poured down on the great crowd assembled on the Common the morning of May 16th. Near the present site of " The Sun " newspaper building, a gallows had been erected. Leisler and Milborne, with Dominie Selyns in attendance, mounted the scaffold. Leisler's dying speech was manly and Christian. He acknowledged several enormities committed against his will and prayed for forgiveness and pardon. Milborne recognized an enemy in the crowd and impeached him " before God's tribunal." When the bodies were cut down they were beheaded and buried at the foot of the gallows. After the execution Sloughter wrote to the home government: " By the advice of the Judges I was inclined to reprieve them until his Majesty's pleasure should be known, but the people were so much disturbed thereat and the Council and Assembly did represent to me the great damage it would be to the King's Service and discouragement to future loyalty if the law was not executed upon the principal actors, which I was constrained to do, and on 17th May, Leisler and Milborne were accordingly executed."

The reversal of attainder against Leisler and Milborne was passed March 11th, 1692, and an order of council granted the return of their estates to their families. The Leislerites con-

demned to death with their principals were pardoned, but several generations had passed away before the hatred and enmities engendered by Leisler's acts ceased to distract New York.

Governor Fletcher, who succeeded to the chief magistracy of the province on Sloughter's death, wrote September 10th, 1692, concerning conditions in New York: "A divided contentious impoverished people I find them, my Endeavours are not wanting to compose, but find neither Party will be satisfied with less than the necks of their Adversaries, I do not despair of bringing them to a better understanding, it must be the work of some time."

"During all this time," wrote Dominies Selyns, Dellius and Varick to the Classis of Amsterdam, in 1692, concerning the Leisler troubles, "everything has been done under pretext of pleasing King William, and as if for the sake of religion; but in fact everything done was contrary to law, to King William, and to the Protestant faith."

CHAPTER IX

IN WHICH THE PRESENCE IN THE CITY OF "PAPISTS," FRENCH PRISONERS AND JESUITS MAKES THE NEW YORKERS NERVOUS

"I AM convinced that the French and English are of the same opinion, Monsieur, on one point, which is that the whole of this land must belong either to the English or French. My people at Quebec expect ten or twelve men-of-war which may have arrived ere this. I am certain that as soon as they arrive our Army will come by land and our fleet by sea to your City of New York and then there will be a brave show. We will bombard your City and we will give you much work. They will be here before August."

The speaker was the Chevalier Pierre D'Aux, Sieur de Jolliet, named by the Indians Dionakaronde. His listener, Jacob Leisler, in the fort at New York. Before explaining the circumstances that brought this gallant young Frenchman a prisoner to the fort in New York, it would be well to learn the grounds on which he based his prediction of the coming of a French fleet. When France and England were at peace many French officers had visited the Northern seaboard settlements of the English colonies, and had, with sharp, experienced eyes, noted well the

coast, had estimated the strength of the forts, regular troops and militia, and the number of fighting men among the inhabitants. De la Mothe Cadillac, Villebon, Péré, and others, had come by way of the Hudson and Long Island Sound to New York and had charted its waters, counted the guns in the fort, and studied its inhabitants. Disgusted with the failure of his governors to capably handle the situation, Louis XIV had again turned to his former governor Count Frontenac. In the summer of 1689, Louvois, the minister, called Frontenac and Cadillac into consultation, and between them the plan of a campaign for the conquest of New York was adopted. Rochelle, France, was to be the starting-point for the expedition. Frontenac was to organize his forces as soon as he arrived at Quebec and push southward to New York city. Admiral Caffinière, with the frigates "Embuscade," "Fourgon," and "Saint François Xavier," was to cruise southward to Sandy Hook and await the coming of the land forces. Callières was to remain in New York as its Governor. Catholics found in the city were to be left in their habitations on taking the oath of allegiance to King Louis, provided their fidelity could be relied on and there were not too many of them. English officers and the chief inhabitants were to be held for ransom, and all others were to be sent to New England and Pennsylvania.

Frontenac reached Canada too late. A serious outbreak of the Iroquois made so much trouble for him within his own borders that foreign conquest was out of the question. Another expedi-

tion the following year resulted in the massacre at, and burning of, Schenectady, and the destruction of Salmon Falls and Casco Bay (Portland). The chief cause of complaint of the Iroquois against the French, it will be recalled, was the treacherous capture in 1687 of fifty Iroquois, including a number of chiefs, who had been summoned by Denonville to attend a conference at Cataracouy. These Indians had been sent to the galleys in France and had been returned to Canada in compliance with Governor Dongan's demand. To placate the Indians Frontenac decided to restore several of the returned prisoners, and as a mark of confidence and friendship selected the Chevalier Pierre D'Aux as his ambassador to Onondaga. D'Aux, a young captain of a company detached from the Marine, was accompanied by Colin, an interpreter, Bouviat, two other Frenchmen, and four of the returned Indians.

The English agent at Onondaga learned from the chiefs that an embassy from Quebec was expected, and he induced the Indians to seize the Frenchmen. When D'Aux and his party arrived at Onondaga (near the present city of Syracuse) the Indians fell upon them, divested them of their money, presents and documents, and tied them to stakes. D'Aux was turned over to the English at Albany, and of the fate of the others the accounts differ. The most reliable authorities say that one was burned at the stake at Seneca, another at Onondaga, and a third died of sickness at Mohawk. D'Aux was sent a prisoner to Leisler in the fort at New York. His papers, recovered from the Indians,

were sent with him, but notwithstanding the sudden treacherous attack of the savages, he had succeeded in destroying the most important of his instructions. Leisler seems to have been unusually friendly to his gallant young prisoner, "Papist" and Frenchman as he was. He occasionally summoned him from his confinement for a chat, a liberal allowance was made for his maintenance, and the quarters assigned him were vastly superior to the dungeons in which Bayard and others were confined. To while away the tedious hours of confinement, D'Aux taught French to his cell mate, Dominie Rudolphus Varick, of Flatbush. At the time preparations to invade Canada were in progress, he made a touching appeal to Leisler to protect the French women and children from the Indians. During Governor Sloughter's administration D'Aux was freed from confinement and allowed liberty within bounds. While Ingoldsby was acting-governor he escaped from New York. A hue and cry was raised and officers of the law were sent after him. He was probably accompanied by other French prisoners, and had reached New London before he was retaken. His captors carried him to Boston, and a demand was made on the Boston authorities for his return, and refused; a long and angry correspondence on the matter followed between the magnates in Boston and New York. He managed to escape again in August, 1692, and made the long journey through the northern wilderness to Canada, but the hardships of the journey, Indian captivity and imprisonment had undermined his strength, and April 10th, 1694, he was laid at

rest in the Recollects Church in Montreal, in his thirty-fourth year. During his captivity in New York D'Aux had not been deprived entirely of the sight of a friendly face and the sound of a friendly tongue, as Leisler's cruisers had brought to port as prizes the French vessels "La Princesse," "St. Pierre," "St. Jean," "Union" and "L'Esperance," with their crews.

South of the St. Lawrence River the Jesuits were regarded primarily as agents of the French government, both before this period and for many years after, and an extract from a letter of Father Lamberville to his co-laborer among the savages, Father Milet, written in 1690, setting forth the animating cause of their labors, will not be amiss: "You are aware, and God is our witness, that as long as we have intercourse with the Indians, we had no other intentions than the salvation of souls, and the existence of peace as well with the English as between the French and Indians; but it has happened, that they are turned by the artifice of the Devil and by envy to the destruction of those souls which Christ has redeemed with His own blood. We pray that He may quickly conciliate the English and French, and free them from the wickedness of wars."

In April, 1691, the first assembly after the Leisler revolution was convened. In May it passed an act entitled, "An act declaring what are the rights and privileges of their Majesty's subjects within the province of New York." Another act was likewise passed, that "no person professing faith in God by Jesus Christ, shall be disturbed or questioned for different opinion

in religion, if he do not disturb the public peace, provided always that nothing herein mentioned or contained shall extend to give liberty for any person of the Romish religion to exercise their manner of worship contrary to the laws and statutes of their Majesty's Kingdom of England." This was the first of a series of oppressive legislative enactments against Catholics.

Father Thomas Harvey, S.J., who had been in hiding in New York since the Leisler troubles, succeeded in leaving the city this year to visit a house of the order in Maryland. He crossed New Jersey, and at Burlington stopped at the home of John Tatham, a distinguished Catholic citizen of that colony. In Philadelphia, Father Harvey rested for awhile in the home of Peter Debuc, and then continued his journey to Maryland. He returned later to New York.

Governor Sloughter, the first of a line of governors, many of whom were dissolute, corrupt, a reproach to the power appointing them and an insult to the people over whom they were appointed, died in 1691, and the following year Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, who had seen thirty years of service in the British army, including the wars in Ireland, arrived in New York as Governor in August, 1692. At this time, and for years afterwards, the city was divided into two hostile camps—the Leislerite and anti-Leislerite parties. Fletcher allied himself with the latter, and interfered in the elections, bribing and intimidating voters in a manner that would surprise even the corrupt politicians of the present day. He was vain, headstrong and rapacious. His grants of immense tracts of land to his

favorites were afterwards annulled by the home government, and he was said to have been financially interested in a number of the piratical ventures that left the port under the commissions of privateers. He had come to New York to amass a fortune, and he was not at all particular about the ways and means.

New York at this time, with its "Red Sea traders" pouring into it the rich products of the East, its privateers bringing in French prizes with their cargoes, increased the riches of the city, but made its moral tone more closely resemble a pirate's lair in the Tortugas than a staid Anglo-Dutch town.

King James is roundly abused by some historians for forbidding the setting up of a printing-press in the province, when as a matter of record he stipulated that no printing-press should be permitted without his Governor's consent first obtained. These instructions are exactly the same as those given by King William to Governor Fletcher.

The situation of affairs in the city at the close of Sloughter's administration is graphically outlined in a letter of Dominie Varick's to the Classis of Amsterdam, written in the spring of 1693: "It was our misfortune that the first Governor (Sloughter) lived only a few months. Then the rabble picked up their ears again; that Governor had been a Popish runaway; and their side was said to be approved at Court. The acting ministers, etc., were to hang. We feared a second revolt for almost a year. If it had occurred it would have cost much blood."

The war between England and France had re-

sulted in the assembling in New York of a number of French and Canadian prisoners. In June, 1693, exchanges were arranged, and Francis Ber, Mattys Fayette, and four others, left the city for Canada, overjoyed at having regained their freedom.

Governor Fletcher was very anxious to bring an unwilling guest to the city in the person of the Jesuit Father Peter Milet, who had been held a captive by the Onondagas and had gained great influence with the nation. At a conference in Albany with the sachems of the Five Nations, Fletcher offered them a pretty Indian boy and a sum of money if they would hand Father Milet over to him, but the Onondagas refused to ratify the bargain. Derick Wessels and Robert Saunders, as ambassadors of Fletcher's, journeyed to the Onondagas' castle and used all their eloquence to induce Aquandoronde, the sachem, to deliver the missionary and his papers to them, but he refused. Fletcher, in a letter to the Committee on Trade concerning his efforts to secure Father Milet, wrote that he "promised not to hurt his Person that Jesuits turning doth much harm to our Indians. I am resolved to remove him if possible."

In July, a false report came up from Sandy Hook that caused Governor Fletcher to think of other things besides warring on Jesuit missionaries. It was reported that a fleet of French warships had passed the Hook and cast anchor in the lower bay. There was wild alarm in the city, and the militia was called out and remained under arms until the unfounded rumor was contradicted. The false report, however, turned

Fletcher's attention to the matter of defense, and a census of the available fighting men in New York showed the total number to be three thousand. Five years before Leisler had reported twelve thousand available for military duty. New York's participation in the inglorious revolution had driven thousands from the city and province. A French name was sufficient to awaken suspicion, and Anthony Lispenard, Lafleur and other Frenchmen, were subjected to official inquiries concerning their correspondence with Canada.

Dominie Henricus Selyns, in a letter to the Classis of Amsterdam, of date November 14th, 1694, gives a doleful picture of conditions in New York. "Our city of New York," he wrote, "with its suburbs, is constantly growing. But this growth is chiefly in houses and people and business, but not in piety and the conversion of sinners. Such a condition promises no blessing from heaven, but rather a fearful looking of judgement. May God preserve us and avert the sword of judgement from our land."

The Massachusetts authorities in 1695 transmitted to Governor Fletcher information, concerning the situation of affairs in New France, that had been communicated to them by certain French Protestant officers and soldiers in the Quebec garrison.

A ship from London, in May, 1696, brought the news of the discovery of the "assassination plot" against the life of King William. It produced a furor in the city, and the smoldering embers of anti-Catholic hatred were fanned into a furious flame. The Gov-

ernor wrote the Lords of Trade in a letter of June 30th: "I do not know of ten papists in the province." He ordered a celebration in commemoration of the discovery of the plot, which took place May 26th. The colonial council, June 11th, issued an order to disarm and imprison every Roman Catholic in the city. Mayor William Merrit was called upon to transmit to the council a list of all Roman Catholics in the city, and his return contained the following names: "Major Anthony Brockholls, Mr. William Douglass, Mr. John Cooley, M. Christiane Lawrence, Mr. Thomas Howarding, Mr. John Cavalier, Mr. John Patte, Mr. John Fenny and Mr. Philip Cunningham."

Major Brockholls, after his release from arrest by Leisler, had gone to Captain Bowne's at Neversink. He returned to New York in 1689, and at the municipal election that fall was not permitted to vote, although a freeman, he "being a Papist." Dongan and Brockholls both had a deal of trouble to induce the provincial fiscal authorities to audit their accounts, and not until August 8th, 1695, were Brockholls' accounts audited. In November of that year, Brockholls and Captain Arents Schuyler, in behalf of themselves and associates, Samuel Bayard, George Ryerson, John Mead, Samuel Berrie and David and Hendrick Mandeville, obtained a patent, after purchasing the title from the Indians, of 5,500 acres of land at Pacquanac, now Pompton Plains, Morris County, New Jersey. Brockholls and his fellow Catholics, if imprisoned at all, because of the council's order, were liberated within a short time, on giving "bond, with surety

of their good behavior," or in default " to be confined in prison." Schuyler, in his " Colonial New York," says: " Brockholls sought a refuge in the wilds of New Jersey because New York was made so uncomfortable to him on account of his religion." He settled at Pompton in 1696 or 1697, and in his will, dated June 15th, 1710, he writes himself a resident of Pompton. The date of his death is unknown, but there is a letter extant of Michael Kearney's, written from Perth Amboy, September 5th, 1723, to Isaac Bobin, relative to the exemplification of Brockholls' will. His children, several of whom married into the most notable families of the province of New York, were Susannah Jewette, Henry and Mary Brockholls, Judith Van Vechten, Susannah French and Jenette Phillipse.

William Douglass had come to New York city from New Jersey. He had been persecuted for the Faith once before. In 1680 he was a member of the New Jersey Assembly from Bergen, and was expelled from that body " for being a Catholic."

John Cooley was employed as the blacksmith in the fort in 1684, and continued to labor at the forge there until 1700, despite the fact that he was a " Popish malignant."

Thomas Howarding, or Hawarden, was a ship-owner and an extensive patentee in Governor Dongan's time.

John Cavalier voyaged from Virginia to Boston in 1675, and he seems to have come to New York shortly after. He was a favorite of Governor Dongan, who appointed him Marshal of the Admiralty in May, 1684, Messenger of the

Court of Chancery in December, 1685, and Messenger of the Colonial Council in April, 1688.

John Fenny or Feeny was a tailor, and Lord Bellomont, writing to the Board of Trade, said of John Fenny, "a Popish tailor of this City and a beggar," was on the bond of the pirate Captain John Hoar, of the pirate ship "John and Rebecca."

The Governor in June wrote to the Lords of Trade: "I found in the two companies [of soldiers] that came last from England two Frenchmen, Charles Moriell and James Wood, Roman Catholicks; I could not trust them at Albany lest they should correspond with their countrymen of Canada. . . . I now send them by the ship 'Beaver' that they may be exchanged or disposed of as his Majesty may see fit."

While officialdom was sadly wrought up over this handful of "Papists," it seems to have been uneasy over the presence of a large number of French prisoners of war, most of whom, it is safe to assume, were Catholics, and to have met more than half way any proposal to exchange or to parole them to proceed to other points for exchange. In July, Miguel d'Arismonde and two other prisoners, brought into New York by the famous Captain Kidd of the "Adventure" galley, were permitted to go to Boston for exchange. On the 20th there was a further exchange, and August 1st Martin Mischelas, boatswain of the French bark "Sita Gratia," went to Boston for exchange, Rene Sunard, purser of a French man-of-war, following him shortly afterwards. The capture of a large French ship by H. M. Ship

"Richmond," off Rockaway Beach, in September, added to the colony of prisoners and the consequent uneasiness, and in October the colonial council ordered a shipment of them to England for exchange.

What would have been the horror of the vigilant defenders of the Protestant religion had they known that somewhere in the little city there abode Governor Dongan's chaplain, the Jesuit Father Thomas Harvey. Probably the knowledge that the war had brought to New York many Catholic prisoners had called him back from Maryland to the post of duty—and danger. Notwithstanding the general hatred of the "French Papists," the prisoners at this time seem to have been treated humanely. The colonial council paid Francis Leconte for providing for the subsistence of two French women prisoners, and Giles Gaudineau for nursing invalids among the Frenchmen.

In the autumn of 1697, the news of the peace of Ryswick reached the city, to the great delight of the prisoners, who had liberty to go whither they pleased, provided they did not put the government to further charges. Later in the same year, permission was given them to go to Esopus or Canada, but they were no longer to be victualled by the government.

The guns of the fort consumed four barrels of gunpowder April 13th, 1698, to welcome the new Governor, Richard Coote, Earl of Bellomont and Baron Colooney. He was of most unsavory ancestry. His grandfather, Sir Charles Coote, in Wicklow, in 1641, massacred the people without distinction of age or sex, and

"committed," says Dr. Leland, the Protestant historian, "such unprovoked, such ruthless and indiscriminate carnage in the town of Wicklow, as rivalled the utmost extravagancies of the northerns." He is charged with having proposed at the council board "a general massacre on all the Catholics." Without warrant of law he executed Father Higgins of Naas. "It is certainly a miserable spectacle," wrote Lord Castlehaven, "to see every day numbers of people executed by martial law at the discretion or rather caprice of Sir Charles Coote, an hotheaded and bloody man, and as such accounted even by the English and Protestants." Coote burned the village of Clontarf and killed sixteen of its unresisting inhabitants in December, 1641. In April of the following year, he was killed by one of his own troopers while pursuing the Irish at Trim.

Bellomont's uncle, Sir Charles Coote, junior, while in command of the Parliamentary forces in Connaught, daily committed hostilities against the Catholic confederates, in violation of the cessation agreed upon between the opposing forces in September, 1643. He was at this time Lord President of Connaught. He ignominiously put to death Bishop Ever McMahon of Clogher, who, sorely wounded, was taken prisoner at Enniskillen, a deed of the blackest ingratitude, as the Bishop had within a year relieved Coote when in great extremity in Derry. Among the first to open overtures with the King after the deposition of Richard Cromwell, was Coote, who, turning his coat, seized the Castle of Dublin. For this the murderer and traitor was made Earl of Montrath and a Lord Justice of Ireland.

Writing of him and Lord Broghill, Clarendon said, "These two (new) earls had been eminently against the king; but upon this turn, when all other powers were down, were eminently for him." Such were the kin of the man in whose honor New Yorkers burned four barrels of gunpowder. He had no sooner taken the oath of office than, with characteristic impetuousity, he started in to reform everything, and, incidentally, denounced nearly every prominent anti-Leislerite in the city as dishonest or as having amassed wealth through an alliance with pirates.

There were still a number of French prisoners in the city awaiting exchange, and Bellomont directed Dominie Dellius and Colonel Peter Schuyler to proceed to Quebec with a copy of the articles of peace between France and England, and a band of twenty prisoners for exchange. The embassy was well received in Quebec, but, to the horror and amazement of the Dominie and the Colonel, the English prisoners, with two or three exceptions, refused positively to be exchanged. They had voluntarily become Catholics, were happy in Canada, and had no desire to return to New York. The English children refused to go with Bellomont's agents, until a rule was adopted that all under fourteen years of age would be compelled. Many of the children defeated this ruling by hiding until the commissioners from New York had departed.

Pastor Peirret, of the French Church, had, in 1697, discovered that there were six among the French prisoners of war who asserted that they were good Protestants. On his petition letters of denization were granted them. In the follow-

ing year Bellomont made the startling discovery that some of the alleged French Protestants were really "Papists," and he suspected that their business was "to give intelligence to Canada." "Papists" were getting on the New Yorkers' nerves.

Of this period Watson in his Annals wrote: "So early as the year 1698, a period when more than one influential English family of this province was grievously suspected of popery and when in the city of New York especially Jesuits were supposed to be prowling around every corner."

Ten years had passed since Father Harvey's Latin school had ceased to be, and yet the dominies were still talking about that awful menace to the Protestant religion, and this year relieved their minds by writing as follows to the Classis of Amsterdam: "The Jesuits had already [in Dongan's time] built a school here under the pretense to teach the youth the Latin Language, to which some even of the most influential had already sent their children: and our Church Bell was tolled about eight o'clock in the morning when the school began. Yes, some whom one would not have suspected of it, had already slily heard a low Mass although they afterwards said it was only through curiosity."

Dekannisore, or Tegannisorens, as the French called him, a famous Onondaga sachem, and sometime the chief orator of the Five Nations, was in New York to confer with the Governor in 1698, and again in 1701. He was a consistent advocate of peace between the whites and Indians and a diplomat of the first rank, a friend when the occasion served of either French or

English, but a friend always of his own people. At a conference with Governor-General De Vaudreuil at Montreal, in 1703, he said: "Europeans have an ill-formed mind; they make peace and then for a mere nothing seize the hatchet again. We do not act so; we require strong reasons to break a treaty that we have signed." Count Frontenac was a great admirer and firm friend of Dekannisore. This great sachem married a Catholic squaw, who was killed by a Mohawk in Albany. He was baptized by a Jesuit, and died, subsequent to 1712, at Sault St. Louis.

True to the traditions of his priest-hunting ancestors, Bellomont, in a letter to the Lords of Trade, wrote, in February, 1699, that if he meets the Mohawk or Onondaga sachems he will try a "stratagem" by offering them money or extraordinary presents to deliver up to him the Jesuit missionaries among them. He intended shipping them to England to be punished. If his "stratagem" succeeded, he argued, the Jesuits would never trust themselves with the Indians again, and thus "it would create an eternal implacable hatred between them." The following year, at a private conference at Albany between Bellomont and the principal sachems of the Five Nations, the Governor proposed his "stratagem," as follows: "For every such Popish priest and Jesuit which you shall bring to this town and deliver up to the Magistrates, you shall have one hundred pieces of Eight paid you down in ready money as a reward." The eleven sachems evidently saw through his lordship's "stratagem" and very cleverly evaded it.

A striking characteristic of the colonial government of New York was the enmity existing between the general assembly, the people and the Royal governors. In May of this year there was an example of this antagonism in a petition to Bellomont that former Governor Fletcher's coat of arms be pulled down from the King's Chapel in the fort and from Trinity Church, "since his birth was so mean and obscure that he was not entitled to bear a coat of arms."

Bellomont's love for the people was evidenced in a letter to the Board of Trade in May: "I am sorry to say it," he wrote, "but 'tis an undoubted truth, the English here are so profligate that I cannot find a man fit to be trusted that's capable of business." On the 17th of that month he departed from his government of New York to seek more congenial Englishmen in his government of Massachusetts, leaving his relative John Nanfan, Lieutenant-Governor, to rule during his absence.

Some French agents from Canada arrived in the city and were quartered in the house of François Puillin, where they consumed large quantities of his brandy and wine, and small quantities of his "mouton." One morning the sentries at the fort made the astonishing discovery that a great ship of war was dropping its anchor at the watering place off Staten Island. She had come up the bay undiscovered and unchallenged. From her high poop floated the lily-spangled banner of France. In due time one of her boats came up to the fort, and an officer landed and informed Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan that the visiting vessel was His Most Christian Majesty's

ship of the line "La Renomée," the Chevalier Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur D'Iberville, commanding. "La Renomée" was en route from the French settlements at the mouth of the Mississippi River to France, and had come into New York to replenish the supply of wood and water and to send dispatches by the French agents to Quebec. In a short time the city buzzed with the news.

D'Iberville! That name in the English colonies in those days was nearly as great a bogie as Bonaparte's in England at a later day. D'Iberville? Why, he was one of the leaders in the Schenectady massacre! "It was he drove the English from Hudson's Bay." "Two years ago he took Fort Pemaquid from us." "Yes, and reduced Newfoundland." And so in tavern and on street corner the French man-of-war and its commander were discussed, and the crowd poured to the water front to gaze at the warship lying down the bay. There was a conference in the fort between officers from the flagship and the provincial officials, and following it a boat came up the bay and from it stepped one in clerical garb. A rumor ran through the crowd.

"What! Shades of the martyred Leisler and all ye other hallowed ones who died for the Protestant religion! A Jesuit? Must such a foul insult as this be endured in our Protestant City of New York? To the jail with him—" but there within sight lay "La Renomée," her portholes bristling with fifty guns, and here was an apology for a fort, and—well, the crowd melted away, shaking its several heads, and Lieutenant-Governor John Nanfan acted as well as could be

PIERRE LE MOYNE SIEUR D'IBERVILLE

expected in the circumstances, and the unwelcome visitor was made welcome, and he, with the French agents, had their transportation to Rhode Island arranged for by mine host François Puillin, and left on their eastward journey. In October, FitzJohn Winthrop wrote from Hartford, Connecticut, to Lord Bellomont: "The Superior of the Jesuits and ye French gentlemen went from Milford the same day they arrived there with all accommodation needful." From which it is evident that D'Iberville was a name to conjure with and "La Renomée's" guns had a very long moral range. It is to be regretted that there is no record of the name of this Superior of the Jesuits or of the purpose of his journey from Louisiana eastward by way of Rhode Island. Bellomont was in Boston at this time, and the Jesuit may have been the bearer of a message from D'Iberville, or it may have been that it was deemed safer for him to proceed to Quebec by sea from some eastern port than by way of Albany. D'Iberville's ship having secured its stores, and some other things it sought, proceeded to France.

CHAPTER X

IN WHICH, "LA RENOMÉE" HAVING DEPARTED, GOVERNOR BELLOMONT WAXES BOLD AGAINST PRIESTS AND BECOMES SOLICITOUS FOR THE SOULS OF THE INDIANS

THERE was a conference in Albany in June, 1700, between a delegation of Catholic Indians from Caughnawaga and the Commissioners of Indian affairs. The Commissioners represented to the Indians that they had the same freedom of trade as themselves, and that since the Indians alleged that it was love for the Christian religion that prompted them to leave New York and go to Canada, the Commissioners hoped in a short time to have Protestant ministers to instruct them in the true Christian religion. Sagronwadie, the sachem of the praying Indians, replied: "We are now come to trade and not to speak of religion, only thus much I must say, all the while I was here before I went to Canada I never heard anything talked of religion or the least mention made of converting us to the Christian faith, and we shall be glad to hear if at last you are so piously inclined to take some pains to instruct your Indians in the Christian religion. I will not say but it may induce some to return to their native country. I wish it had begun sooner that you had had ministers to in-

struct your Indians in the Christian faith; I doubt whether any of us ever had deserted our native country; but I must say I am beholden to the French of Canada for the light I have received to know there was a Saviour born for mankind, and now we can be taught God is everywhere, and we can be instructed at Canada, Dowaganhae or the uttermost part of the earth as well as here." The records are silent as to the Commissioners' reply.

In June, New York city was again thrown into a commotion by the unheralded reappearance, at its former anchorage, of D'Iberville's ship "La Renomée." Nanfan wrote to Bellomont reporting the arrival of D'Iberville's ship "on pretence to wood and water," but he believed to examine the channel and harbor. He was not aware that they made any move in that direction, but purposed sending out the fort's barge every night, and "if the French are discovered sounding it will be forbidden." He further told Bellomont that he had heard King James had made an absolute gift of the province to the French King and believed that D'Iberville had orders to touch in and examine the channel and harbor. The day this letter was dispatched Bellomont returned to New York, and August 9th, probably after D'Iberville's departure, forced the following "Act Against Jesuits & Popish Priests" on the statute books:

"Whereas divers Jesuits priests and popish missionaries have of late come and for Some time have had their residence in the remote parts of this Province and other his ma'tys adjacent Colonies, who by their wicked and Subtle Insinu-

ations Industriously Labour to Debauch Seduce and w'thdraw the Indians from their due obedience unto his most Sacred ma'ty and to Excite and Stir them up to Sedition Rebellion and open Hostility against his ma'tys Goverm't for prevention whereof Bee it Enacted by his Excel the Gov'r Council and Representatives Convened in Generall Assembly and it is hereby Enacted by the Authority of the Same, That all and every Jesuit and Seminary Priest missionary or other Spirituall or Ecclesiasticall person made or ordained by any Authority power or Jurisdicon derived Challenged or p'tented from the Pope or See of Rome now resideing w'th in this province or any part thereof shall depart from and out of the Same at or before the first day of November next in this present year Seaventeen hundred. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all and every Jesuit Seminary Priest Missionary or other Spirituall or Ecclesiasticall person made or Ordained by any Authority power or Jurisdiction derived Challenged or p'tended from the pope or See of Rome or that shall profess himself or otherwise appear to be Such by preaching & teaching of others to Say any popish prayers by Celebrating masses granting of absolution or using any other of the Romish ceremonies & Rites of worship by what name title or degree So ever such a person shall be called or known who shall Continue abide remaine or come into this province or any part thereof after ye first day of November aforesaid shall be deemed and Accounted an incendiary and disturber of the publick peace and Safety and an Enemy to the true Christian Religion and

shal be adjudged to Suffer perpetuall Imprisonm't and if any person being so Sentenced and actually Imprisoned shall break prison and make his Escape and be afterwards retaken he shall Suffer such paines of Death penalties and forfeitures as in Cases of ffelony. And it is further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every person that shall wittingly and willingly receive, harbor Conceale aid Succour and relieve any Jesuit preist missionary or other Ecclesiastical person of the Romish Clergy knowing him to be Such and be thereof lawfully Convicted before any of his ma'tys Courts of Records w'thin this Province w'ch Courts are hereby Impowered and Authorized to hear try and Determine the Same he shall forfeit the Sum of two hundred pounds Currant mony of this Province one half to his Ma'ty for and towards the Support of the Governm't and the other half to the Informer who shall sue for ye Same in any Court of Record w'thin this province wherein no Essoyn protection or wager of Law shall be allowed and Such person shall be further punished by being Set in ye pillory on three Severall dayes and also be bound to the good behavior at the discretion of the Court. And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid That it shall and may be Lawfull to and for every Justice of the peace to cause any person or persons Suspected of being a Jesuit, Seminary Preist or of the Romish Clergy to be apprehended & Convented before himself & Some other of his Ma'tys Justices and if Such person do not give Sattisfactory acco't of himself he shall be Committed to prison in order to a Tryall also it shall and may be Lawfull to and

for any person or persons to app'rehend w'thout a warrant any Jesuit Seminary preist or other of the Romish Clergy as aforesaid and to Convent him before ye Gov'r or any two of the Council to be Examined and Imprisoned in order to a Tryall unless he give a Sattisfactory acco't of himself and as it will be Esteemed and accepted as a good Service don for ye King by the person who shall Seiz & apprehend any Jesuit Preist missionary or Romish Ecclesiactick as aforesaid So the Gov'r of this province for ye time being w'th ye advice & Consent of the Council may Suitably reward him as they think fitt. Provided this act shall not Extend or be Construed to Extend unto any of the Romish Clergy who shall happen to be Shipwrackt, or thro' other adversity shall be cast on shoure or driven into this province, So as he Continue or abide no Longer w'thin Same than untill he may have opportunity of passage for his Departure. So also as Such person Immediately upon his arrivall shall forthw'th attend ye Gov'r if near to ye place of his Residence, or otherwise on one or more of ye Council or next Justices of the peace, & acquaint y'm w'th his Circumstances & observe ye Direccons w'ch they shall give him during his stay in ye province."

This act is said to have been suggested and drafted by Bellomont. In the council several amendments were proposed by Chief Justice William Smith. In Bellomont's draft one third of the fine imposed on harborers of priests went to King William, one third to Bellomont and the other third to the informer. As amended, one half the fine went to the informer, the other to

the king for the support of the government. The clause providing for the cases of priests forced into the province through shipwreck or similar cause was an amendment of Smith's, the original draft containing no provision for such cases. Much to Bellomont's chagrin, the vote on the adoption of the act showed a plurality of one vote against adoption. Bellomont, voting as a member of the council, tied the vote; then voted again as presiding officer and passed it, and, as Governor, signed it.

A transport, loaded with red-coated soldiery, sailed up the bay in October. The soldiers, a body of recruits from Ireland, overflowing with animal spirits and jubilant over their release from the crowded quarters and strict discipline of a troopship, were landed in the city Saturday night. As soldiers will, they passed the night in carousel and pandemonium reigned in the town. "A parcel of the vilest fellows that ever wore the King's livery, the very scum of the Army in Ireland and several Irish papists among 'em," said Bellomont. Later Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan assembled them on the parade outside the fort and read the act to punish mutineers and deserters. He then made up a detachment to proceed to Albany to reinforce the companies stationed there. A spokesman stepped from the ranks and told the Lieutenant-Governor that the soldiers would not stir a foot until they had received full sterling pay that was due them and sea pay during the voyage. This declaration was followed by a great tumult. Bellomont, in the meantime, had admitted five hundred civilians to the fort and had armed them.

Just as the recruits, led by Corporal Morris, had started to enter the fort the gates were slammed in their faces. The soldiers were caught unarmed and were soon overawed by the strength of the garrison. Three quarters of their number were placed under arrest, and four of them condemned to be shot. Two, Richard Fleming and Jonathan Wilford, were reprieved, and the other two, Corporal Morris and Robert Cotteral, who had been an Ensign in King James' Irish army, fell before the guns of a firing party.

The Governor next directed his attention to the spiritual welfare of the red men. In a letter to the Lords of Trade he urged the sending over of missionaries. He wrote: " They must be men of sober and exemplary lives and good scholars, or they will not be fit to instruct the Indians and encounter the Jesuits in point of argument. I should advise their being both settled at the intended Fort: and for their encouragement they ought to have one hundred and fifty pounds a year salarie, apiece, Sterl. money. Without a Fort 'tis next to impossible to prevail with the ministers to live among the Indians: they are so nasty as never to wash their hands or the utensils they dress their victuals with & their food is (some of it) loathsome to the last degree; tho' they eat great store of venison, pidgeons and fish; yet bear's flesh is a great part of their diet; and when they feast themselves and their friends a dog is esteemed with them a princely dish."

The Canadian civil and religious authorities were bitterly opposed to the *coureurs de bois* because of the loose lives they led in the wilderness, and this may have prompted Jean de Noyon and

Louis Gosselin to journey down to New York and assure the authorities that they represented the French *coureurs de bois*, who, they asserted, were dissatisfied with the condition of affairs in New France and would bring their trade to Albany. They further promised to lead to New York ten or twelve Ottawa sachems, but there is no evidence of any increased trade in Albany about that time or of any big Ottawa delegation visiting New York.

The Mayor and Aldermen petitioned the Governor and council in December demanding the release from slavery of a free-born Indian woman of Caracas, held in bondage by Edward Antill, a prominent and wealthy citizen.

When piracy flourished in New York, an appeal was made to the home government to send a warship to put down the nefarious traffic. Owing to a lack of ships and money, no government vessel, it was announced, was available. Several noblemen, among them the Earl of Bellomont, formed a stock company for the suppression of piracy. King William subscribed £3,000, but forgot or neglected to pay in his subscription. An armed vessel was fitted out and placed under the command of Captain William Kidd of New York. The aim and object of the corporation was unique. Pirate vessels were to be captured and the value of their cargoes divided among the stockholders. Kidd's vessel sailed from Bristol for New York in 1696. He afterwards proceeded to the East Indian and African coasts. It is said that his crew compelled him to abandon his instructions and enter on a career of piracy. The assertion is also made that he but

followed his secret instructions in entering on this career. He returned to New York in 1698 with an immense booty. He proceeded openly to Boston, was arrested by Bellomont's order on a charge of piracy and murder, and sent to England for trial. He was tried and executed in 1701. It required all the influence and power of King William and his government to suppress a parliamentary investigation of the affair that would have shaken the throne.

Bellomont died in New York March 3rd, 1701, and his body, buried in the chapel of the fort, finally found a resting place in St. Paul's churchyard.

Robert Livingston, in a letter to the Lords of Trade, in May, 1701, wrote: "And there is good reason to suspect that Monsr. de Iberville the last summer came hither in his fourth rate man of war from Misasipi of purpose to sound our channel, which his men in boats performed every day near a month together without interruption." Livingston's suspicions were well founded. D'Iberville, in 1701, submitted to the French government a memorial in which he outlined a campaign for the conquest of Boston and its dependencies. The document exhibits a remarkable knowledge of the English possessions from Boston to Albany and its description of New York city and its bay is interesting: "The entrance into the river at New York is difficult for the space of two leagues as far as *Isle aux Lapins* (Coney Island), where but sixteen or seventeen feet of water are to be found, following the sinuosities of the channel and where tacking is impossible. It is four leagues from Isle aux

Lapins to New York, where there is plenty of water. The passage lies between Long and Staten Islands, which are half a league apart. . . . If operations are confined to bombarding that town, which is very handsome, and contains six hundred houses, all very neat brick buildings, with two churches and one Jewish synagogue, that project does not appear to me to be very difficult; and a large force is not necessary to destroy that town, which is very wealthy and filled with merchandise, unless a small island within a quarter of a league of the place [Governor's Island] should have been fortified. This would prevent the bombardment and protect the city, unless a passage were effected beyond it at the expense of a few cannon shot."

In this year, just eighteen years after a Catholic governor, acting for a Catholic proprietor, had proclaimed toleration towards all Christians and called a popular assembly, the province enacted a law by which "all Papists and Popish recusants are prohibited from voting for members of assembly or any office whatever from thenceforth and forever." There was friction between England and France at this time, and suspicious strangers were closely watched. One Ousterhouse, an outward-bound passenger in the ship "Happy Peace," was, on order of the council, searched on suspicion of being the bearer of letters to the French minister, M. Ponchartrain.

England declared war, known as the War of the Spanish Succession, against France and Spain in 1702, and during the eleven years of strife many French and Spanish prizes and prisoners were taken into New York.

Edward Hyde, Viscount Cornbury, assumed the duties of Governor of New York and New Jersey May 3rd. His administration was chiefly distinguished for its "intolerance, licentiousness, dishonesty and misrule." Although a nephew of King James' by marriage, he was one of the first to desert him and join the Prince of Orange. In 1708 he was removed from the office of governor, in compliance with the protests of the people, and was immediately thrown into prison by his creditors. On the death of his father, the Earl of Clarendon, he paid his debts and exchanged his prison cell for a seat in the House of Lords. The Reverend Thoroughgood Moore, sent out as an Indian missionary by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, while officiating in his ministerial capacity at Burlington, N. J., "was so scandalized at the indecent conduct of Lord Cornbury and his Lieutenant-Governor [Ingoldsby] that he refused to admit the latter to the Lord's supper and was cast into jail in consequence. Moore, some time afterwards, contemplating returning to England, was warned of the danger of falling into the hands of the French. He replied that he would rather be taken prisoner to France than into the fort in New York.

A big Spanish ship bound from Cadiz to Havana was, while off the latter port, sighted by three New York privateers, boarded and captured by the men of Captain Clavear's ship. She proved to have a rich cargo of wine, oil and fruit, and carried sixty passengers, including two "Fryers." On the arrival of the prize in New York, twenty of the passengers landed and

were entertained by John Hutchins, at government expense, but the ecclesiastics seem to have been kept on shipboard until exchanged or otherwise disposed of.

The news that the redoubtable D'Iberville had taken the island of Nevis, coupled with a rumor that he was about to transfer his operations to the English colonies' seaports, particularly New York, caused a panic in the city in 1706. The "French scare" occupied public attention to the exclusion of every other topic. The fort was hastily patched up; the Board of Admiralty encouraged privateering; a line of stockades was erected across the island. Three batteries were thrown up on the East River shore and three on the North River. In compliance with a suggestion of Cornbury's, the legislature voted an appropriation of fifteen hundred pounds, *nemine contradicente*, for fortifying the Narrows, with which sum his lordship subsequently erected a summer residence on Nutten Island.

A French privateer, the "Queen Ann," appeared off Sandy Hook July 26th, and when the citizens discovered that no move had been made to erect the Narrows forts there was great anxiety and indignation in the town. A dispatch from the Governor of Maryland, that several large French ships, having seven merchantmen as prizes, were off the Virginia capes, bound north, caused consternation. Since May, all the able-bodied citizens had been working with pick and shovel, throwing up fortifications. A captured French man-of-war, renamed "Triton's Prize," was fitted out, and another ship, manned by citizens, sailed outside the Hook, but when the

citizen sailors caught sight of the French ship, twenty miles outside, they promptly refused to meet her and sailed for home. The "Triton's Prize" engaged the "Queen Ann," and at the close of an all-day fight the Frenchman withdrew.

Two days later a dispatch from Staten Island announced that ten large French privateers had anchored within Sandy Hook. The New Yorkers were panic-stricken. Every militia colonel was ordered to march his command to the defense of New York, and then it was discovered that the ten large French privateers were prizes, taken from the French and brought into port by Captain Adrian Clavear.

Morris Newinhuysen, the mate of the sloop "Constant Abigail," brought a story to the city in 1707 that threw the French Protestants into a great turmoil. The "Constant Abigail" was taken by a French privateer, Nov. 6th, 1706, off Scilly. According to Newinhuysen's story, the boatswain of the sloop and a French privateersman, in overhauling the sloop's papers and mail-pouch, found a letter directed to some one in Rochelle, France. Newinhuysen charged that this letter was written by Captain Benjamin Fanueil, one of the pillars of the Huguenot church in New York. In this epistle, asserted Newinhuysen, Fanueil had told his French correspondent that if the French squadron that took Nevis had come to New York, it would have encountered less resistance. This looked like giving information to the enemy in time of war, an imputation that these French residents could not afford to permit to pass unchallenged. They appealed to Corbury for an investigation, and the council declared the charges unfounded.

A French flag of truce party from Canada, consisting of Herlel, Sieur de Chambly, Jean Des Landes, Louis Soljett, Réné Coulon, Jean Baptist Morriseau, and Jean Baptist d'Hercourt, came down to New York and lodged for a time in Henry Swift's house. Having transacted their business, the council issued a safe conduct for their return to Canada.

The Rev. John Talbot wrote from New York in 1708: "I saw Mr. Bradford (the printer) in New York. He tells me that Mass is set up and read publicly in Philadelphia, and several people are turned to it, amongst which Lionell Brittin, the churchwarden, is one and his son is another. I thought that Popery would come in amongst Friends, the Quakers, as soon as any way."

Among the many Spanish and French prisoners carried to New York during this war were two Spanish priests, Padre Freay and Padre Pascoal, who, with a companion or attendant, Thomas Strada, were lodged by the authorities in the house of Elizabeth Cole, the widow of a former messenger of the council. As to whence these priests came and how long their captivity lasted the records are silent.

John, Lord Lovelace, the descendant of one of Sir Francis Drake's companions in his marauding expeditions, and one of the first noblemen of consequence to desert King James, arrived in New York December 18th, 1708. His brief but honorable career as governor was terminated by his death in New York, May 6th, 1709. Among the retinue of servants that came with him to New York were two Palatines, the precursors of a mighty army of Germans that followed in succeeding years.

CHAPTER XI

IN WHICH MANY OF THE "POOR PERSECUTED PROTESTANS" FROM THE PALATINATE ARE DISCOVERED TO BE "PAPISTS"

WITH the coming of the Palatines to New York began on a large scale the loss to the Catholic Church that has from that day to the present assumed appalling proportions. There are two Palatinates, the Upper, or Bavarian, and the Lower, known as the Palatinate of the Rhine, or Pfalz. The immigrants to New York came from the latter, which contained less than thirty-five hundred square miles. Its capital was Heidelberg, and the principal cities Mayence, Spires, Mannheim and Worms. It was governed by the Rudolphine line from 1294 to 1559, then passed to the house of Zimmern, which, in turn, was succeeded by the house of Neuberg. Nearly every succession to the throne meant a change in the sect of the ruler, either Lutheran or Calvinist, and those changes involved the petty persecution of Protestant by Protestant. "Luther and Calvin, Knox and Cranmer, and even the Puritans of New England," says Cobb, in the "Story of the Palantines," "acknowledged as vital the principle that the state could interfere in the religion of the subject." John William, Duke of Neuberg, a Catholic, ascended the throne in 1690 and ended the warring of the sects by issuing a decla-

ration for liberty of conscience; but greater wars had waged for six years, and continued for twenty-three years longer, with but four years interval of peace, to impoverish his people and destroy his possessions. During the wars of the Grand Alliance and of the Spanish Succession, the Palatinate was ravaged by French and German armies.

Doubtless this was the principal cause that led to the exodus; in fact, the Protestant Consistory of the Palatinate declared that the Palatines had no other grievances to complain of "than what is natural to the meaner sort of people of all countries and nations, viz., those of poverty." English attention was first called to the Palatines by the publication, in London, in 1699, of a pamphlet entitled, "A True Account of the Sad Condition of the Protestants in the Palatinate. In two letters by an English Gentleman." This publication was a rabidly bigoted attack on the Catholic ruler. Prior to 1708, the ravages of war and the blighting of the grape-vines reduced the Palatines to extremity. The Reverend Joshua Kockerthal, a Protestant minister of the Palatinate, applied to Mr. Davrelle, the British representative at Frankfort, in February, 1708, for passes to America and money for sixty-one persons. Mr. Davrelle refused to grant the request, and for so doing was commended by Queen Anne's government; "though the desire to have those poor people to settle in the plantations is very acceptable and would be for the public good, yet she [Queen Anne] can by no means consent" without the Elector Palatine's consent and approval.

Nevertheless the Reverend Joshua Kockerthal, without obtaining anyone's public consent, landed with his party at Whitehall in the spring of 1708, and their odd attire, shovel hats, quaint garments and wooden shoes attracted considerable attention. An order in council, of May, permitter Mr. Kockerthal and forty of his followers to proceed to New York, to be settled somewhere on the banks of the Hudson River, " where they may be useful to this kingdom, particularly in the production of naval stores and as a frontier against the French and Indians." There is frankness at least about this declaration of an intention to make a " frontier " of these " poor persecuted Palatines," but as an example of disinterested philanthropy it is not impressive.

In June, fourteen more were added to the party, and in July Kockerthal applied to the Queen for a salary and a bounty of £20, usually given to a missionary bound for foreign parts, with which to buy a suitable outfit. The £20 was granted, the salary refused, but Lord Lovelace was instructed to give Kockerthal a grant of land. Kockerthal and his party reached New York in December, and some months later were settled on a grant of twenty-one hundred and ninety acres on the west bank of the Hudson River, at and adjacent to the site of the city of Newburgh. The Queen's government had granted this party free transportation to New York, lands free of tax or quit-rent, seed, agricultural tools and furniture, and had agreed to subsist the settlers for one year, or until they had gathered their first harvest. Nothing could have been more generous than this treatment, and

Kockerthal, having settled his people in their new homes, hurried back to the Palatinate to gather another party. There were mysterious influences at work in the Palatinate that in their methods are strikingly similar to those employed by the modern land-boomer and suburban development enterprise. A pamphlet was distributed widespread over the country that was known to the Palatines as the "Golden Book." It bore a portrait of Queen Anne and its title-page was printed in letters of gold. It invited and encouraged the Palatines to come to England, to be shipped thence to the Carolinas or other American colonies. A philanthropic unknown, accompanied by his servant, appeared in Rotterdam among the refugees and distributed, with the liberality of a canvasser for some suburban-lot boom, free passes to England.

The printing-press and orator all over England had touched the hearts of the people with the story of the wrongs of these "poor persecuted Protestant Palatines." Parliament took the matter in hand, and in March, 1709, passed an act providing for the naturalization of foreign Protestants. With inconceivable rapidity this news reached the Palatinate, and the people began pouring in a stream from all parts of Germany towards Rotterdam, supported on the way by charity, seeking shipment to England.

Early in the spring a band of two hundred and ten families and eighteen unmarried persons crossed to England. Lord Sunderland wrote the Board of Trade, at the Queen's request, advising that some method be found to enable the

Palatines to get a comfortable livelihood in England instead of sending them to America. In order to be in a position to handle the matter systematically and intelligently, a committee consisting of two Lutheran ministers was appointed in May to inquire into the condition, means of livelihood and religion of the two hundred and ten families and eighteen individuals. There was embarrassment and dismay when the committee's report was made public. Of this band of "poor persecuted Protestant Palatines," whose expenses to England had been paid to rescue them from the cruelty of their Catholic ruler, thirty-three of the families and three of the unmarried persons declared they were Catholics. During May, ships from Rotterdam were landing bands of Palatines in England, and barns, tents, warehouses and all kinds of unoccupied structures were secured for their shelter by the government. A band of 1,193 of the refugees arrived at Walworth, and, May 27th, a census taken of their religious belief disclosed 154 of the Reformed Church, 120 Lutherans, and 919 *Catholics.* By June, the total of the arrivals in England was about 10,000, and this immense public charge, together with the high percentage of "Papists," alarmed the government and disgusted the people. Orders were sent to Holland to ship no more to England; but, notwithstanding, three thousand came and still more followed. The Elector Palatine was deeply offended by this wholesale desertion, and the States-General of the Netherlands instructed its minister in Germany to stop the exodus.

A Parliamentary investigating committee was

appointed to discover who was encouraging the emigration, but it failed to fix the blame, although Henry Torne, a Quaker of Rotterdam, who, strange to say, was a subordinate of Mr. Davrelle's, the British agent, was suspected. It was deemed advisable, in taking the census of the arrivals, after the mortifying disclosure of May 27th, to drop the query as to religious affiliation. Mr. Davrelle evidently had "his knuckles rapped" for sending over "Papists." In a letter of June 11th, to Mr. Secretary Boyle, he acknowledged that there were a great many "Papists" among the refugees in Holland, whom, notwithstanding, he had sent to England. There was but one thing to do to get rid of them. The Catholics, or those among them who acknowledged their faith, were shipped back to Holland and received ten shillings each to assist them on their return journey. Human nature is weak, and very many of the Catholics, warned by the fate of those who declared their faith, denied it. The situation had afforded a fertile field for the proselytizer, and he had been busy. Catholicity was very decidedly under the ban in England under "good Queen Anne," and priests were few; but in this emergency there was one unnamed hero, "the chaplain of one of the foreign ministers resident in London," who was so truly an apostle to the Palatines as to merit the condemnation of the bigoted pamphleteers of the day.

It became apparent in July that something must be done to raise funds for the maintenance of the refugees, and the Queen appointed commissioners and trustees to solicit and disburse

money contributed, to secure employment, and settle them in homes. The amount raised by popular subscription was £300,000. The Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland asked that the Palatines be sent to them, and 3,800 were shipped to that kingdom. For their support £24,000 was appropriated from the Irish revenues, but 232 families returned to England because the commissary of the fund failed to pay them the allowance for their subsistence. The Board of Trade, in August, reported favorably on the matter of settling more Palatines on waste land on the banks of the Hudson River; they to be supplied with implements of husbandry and hardware for building timber houses, and to be given, each, a grant of land under certain conditions. The location of their settlement to be chosen, " whereby they will be a good barrier between Her Majesty's subjects and the French & their Indians in those parts, and in process of time by intermarrying with the neighboring Indians (as the French do) they may be Capable of rendring very great Service to Her Majesty's Subjects there." It was further mentioned that these " good barriers " would be useful in the fur trade and production of naval stores.

Everything was not lovely, in the meantime, on the banks of the Hudson. The Kockerthal party, that had settled near the site of Newburgh, petitioned the authorities, September 23rd, for the balance of their allowance of provisions, amounting to nine pence per day, as they were in " great want." Other Palatines who might voyage to America were not to be granted any such " gilt edged " terms as the Kockerthal

party. In December, the Attorney General prepared for the body of emigrants then making ready to sail in the spring for New York with Governor Robert Hunter, who was to succeed Lord Lovelace, a covenant in which the Palatines agreed that, having been "subsisted, maintained and supported . . . by the great and christian charity of her Majesty, the Queen and many of her good subjects," and her Majesty having ordered the loan of a considerable sum of money for transporting, maintaining and settling them in the province of New York, they would labor, produce, and manufacture all manner of needful stores, and were to receive, as soon as they had repaid the government for its expenditures on their behalf, a grant of forty acres of land free from all taxes, quit-rents, "or other manner of service for seven years from the date of such grant." . . . They further agreed to settle with their families in the places allotted to them, and "not upon any account or manner of pretense quit or desert without leave from ye government," and not to engage in woolen manufacture.

John Frederic Haeger, a Palatine minister, having been highly recommended to the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts as a proper person to minister to the emigrants, was "put into Holy Orders" by the Bishop of London, given a salary of £50 per annum, the usual £10 for outfit, and £5 for books.

In June, 1710, after a voyage of storm, wretchedness and misery, the ten emigrant ships, carrying about three thousand Palatines, that had left England with Governor Hunter straggled

into New York. No less than 470 of them had found graves in the deep. There was no accommodation for such a number in the little city, and its inhabitants feared the new-comers might cause a "malignant distemper," so they were ferried over to Nutten Island and housed in rude huts the carpenters of the city had hastily erected. A month later there was an order in council issued that caused grief and anger. Sixty-eight orphans and children whose parents were unable to support them were taken from the island by the provincial officials and apprenticed to families in the city and neighboring towns. Governor Hunter journeyed up the Hudson to find land in the northern part of the province suitable for the settlement of his charges. Tracts in various parts were offered him, but he fell into the hands of land speculators, and Robert Livingston sold him a tract on the river about eight miles below the present city of Hudson, and also obtained from him a contract for victualling the settlers. The land was rocky and barren, unsuitable for the production of naval or any kind of stores. In September, 2,275 of the unfortunate people journeyed up the river to their new home, two hundred and fifty having died since their arrival in New York.

The Reverend John Frederic Haeger, the spiritual shepherd of the immigrants, was not slow in beginning his labors. He wrote to the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, October 28th, "I instructed fifty-two in the fundamentals of our religion according to the Church Catechism; among them were thirteen Papists." In spite of the weeding-out process

that sent so many Catholics back to Rotterdam, here are thirteen out of fifty-two acknowledging that they were "Papists."

Governor Hunter had expended a good part of his private fortune in caring for the Palatines, and had, trusting the government at home to endorse his action, signed heavy contracts for their subsistence. It was with dismay he learned, in October, that there had been a change in the government and that the new ministry refused to pay any of his bills. The change of ministry produced many other changes in the fortunes of the Palatines and of public feeling towards them. A pamphlet was published in London, in 1711, with the title: "A View of the Queen's and Kingdom's Enemies in the Case of the Poor Palatines." It declared that 10,000 Palatines had arrived in England between May 1st and July 18th, 1709, and that the expense of their maintenance had increased from £16 to £100 a day. The Queen had issued letters patent to raise charitable contributions "for those distressed Protestants who were more than half of them Papists." The £300,000 raised for them was an incredible amount, it asserted, to be contributed by people under a twenty years' war burden, "for a parcel of vagabonds who might have lived comfortably enough in their native country, had not the laziness of their dispositions and the report of our well-known generosity drawn them out of it. . . . For as to their pretence to come hither purely for the exercise of their religion, there was nothing in it, though some were induced to relieve them on account of their pretended persecutions."

A petition of ministers, churchwardens, and inhabitants of St. Olave, Southwark, and adjacent parishes in London was presented in the House of Commons against the presence of the Palatines in their parishes, on the ground that there were dangerous disturbers amongst them and that they feared the outbreak of a contagious distemper. A committee of the House was appointed to inquire upon whose invitation the Palatines came over; what moneys were expended in bringing them, and by whom paid, and permission was given to bring in a bill to repeal the act naturalizing foreign Protestants. The parliamentary committee in due time reported to the House that the whole charge occasioned by the Palatines was £135,775.18.0½, and the House "Resolved that the inviting over into this Kingdom the poor Palatines of all religions at the public expense, was an extravagant and miserable charge to the Kingdom and a scandalous misapplication of the public money, tending to the increase and oppression of the poor of the Kingdom and of dangerous consequences to the constitution of church and state. Resolved that whosoever advised the bringing over of the poor Palatines into the Kingdom was an enemy to the Queen and this Kingdom."

In the parliamentary inquiry the fact was elicited that, notwithstanding the great sum of money expended for them, the Palatines had "no subsistence but what they got by their wives begging on the streets." Hard as was the lot of the Palatines in Southwark, Black Heath and Camberwell, it was an easy existence compared with that of their brethren on the Livingston Manor

tract up the Hudson River. By the spring of 1711, they had discovered that they had virtually been sold into slavery. If they had labored day after day far beyond the natural term of human life they could not possibly produce sufficient naval stores to pay their debt to the government and become owners of the promised forty acres of land, for the reason that naval stores cannot profitably be produced from northern pine.

The barren Livingston Manor tract was unsuitable for raising crops or even grazing cattle. Every promise made the unfortunates was broken, and three hundred men, hurried for military duty in the Canadian campaign and Albany garrison, received no pay, and on their return found their families starving. The settlers were forced to pay the salaries of an army of overseers, commissaries and clerks, and were cheated in the quality and quantity of their provisions. To crown all, Governor Hunter notified them that he could no longer subsist them and they must shift for themselves.

The Reverend Mr. Haeger continued his missionary work despite his people's trials, and July 8th, 1713, wrote to the Society: "The number of persons instructed in our Church Catechism and true principles of Christianity and admitted to the Lord's Supper (part whereof are come to such competent age as is required and part are such as left the errors of the Church of Rome) are 113." The following year, in a report to the Society, he wrote that his flock was scattered along the Hudson, in settlements known as Hunterstown, Queenstown, Annsburg, Hays-

bury, Newtown, Georgetown, Elizabethtown and at Schoharie; that he had 380 communicants, and "No. of Papist families—one." These Catholic immigrants, and a goodly number must have landed in New York, deprived of a spiritual guide and of the consolations of their religion, affiliated with one or other of the sects or slept in unconsecrated graves. The Palatines, driven to desperation by their wrongs, cleft a way through the wilderness to Schoharie, and were there persecuted by the Provincial officials and a band of scheming Albany land-speculators; but, befriended by the heathen red men, they prospered. Many of them found their way to that haven of the oppressed, Pennsylvania, and as time passed on were absorbed in the growing population.

CHAPTER XII

IN WHICH THE ENSLAVING OF SPANISH FREEMEN LEADS TO A BLOODY RECKONING

The French prisoners of war, who had been permitted a certain amount of liberty, within bounds, in the city, were, in June, 1709, probably because of some danger apprehended from their ever-increasing numbers, ordered by the council to be ferried across the river and marched to Flatbush and Hempstead, for their, and the city's, greater security.

An expedition against New France, by land and sea, was planned, but failed. Four of the five cantons of the Iroquois were induced to take the war path against the French. Father Peter de Mareuil, S.J., who had come from France to the Canadian mission in 1706, went to Onondaga to assist Father Lamberville in 1709. John Schuyler, a brother of Peter Schuyler, visited Father Lamberville and won his confidence. He expressed sincere regret that the Five Nations had dug up the war hatchet and advised the Jesuit to hurry to Canada to confer over the situation with Governor-General Vaudreuil. Father Lamberville had no sooner left the castle than Schuyler incited a band of drunken savages to plunder the mission-house and chapel and to burn them. With protestations of sympathy and

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friendship and expressions of fear for the safety of his life, Schuyler persuaded Father de Mareuil to accompany him to Albany, but concealed from him that on June 29th the provincial authorities had issued an order for his arrest. Bellomont's savage law against Jesuits was still on the statute books, but, strange as it may seem, Father de Mareuil was treated with kindness and consideration in Albany, and June 23rd the House of Assembly ordered "That the Commissioners for managing the Expedition to Canada, &c., do take care a decent Provision be made for the *French* Jesuit and a Servant that surrendered themselves to this government from the *Indians*, as the Governor and Council shall direct." Father de Mareuil was later sent down the river to New York city, and at every settlement he noted the busy preparations for the expedition that Ingoldsby was to lead, made up of New York and New Jersey levies, against Vaudreuil at Chambly, but which never got further north than Wood Creek. The council minutes, dated June 25th, 1709, contain the following: "It is the opinion of this Board that Flatt Bush on Long Island is a proper place to send ye French Priest to and that his Man be sent to Hamstead on the Sd. Island, that they be severally charged not to go above a mile from the house they are respectively lodged in nor without some one of the inhabitants of the Town with them, and that they be not out of their lodgings any evening after sunsett, and that they be told they are at liberty to write to their friends, sending their letters oppen to the Government to be Perused and sent away, and that what let-

ters are sent to them shall come safe to their hands after they have been read by the Government, that so long as they behave themselves well they shall be civilly treated."

These regulations, adopted by a board having charge of prisoners of war, were, no doubt, formulated for Father de Mareuil and his servant, in expectation of their arrival from Albany. Later Father de Mareuil was exchanged for Lieutenant Barent Staats, a law relative of Peter Schuyler, and he reached Montreal in April, 1711.

The number of Spanish prisoners was increased in 1710 by the privateers "Samuel" and "Kingston" bringing into port as a prize the great Spanish ship "Sto Christo del Burgo," laden with cocoa, and the number of French prisoners was reduced by the departure of a flag-of-truce vessel for Port Royal. A slave market was established at the foot of Wall Street in 1711, and it was ordered "that slaves for hire stand in rank in the market place foot of Wall Street." Many an intelligent South and Central American Catholic Indian, kidnapped from his home and unlawfully sold into slavery by unprincipled New York privateersmen, has stood there among the black heathen just arrived from the African jungle.

Undiscouraged by Vetch's abortive expedition against New France, the home and colonial governments had been gathering soldiers, supplies, munitions of war and provisions for a supreme effort against the northern enemy. Nicholson had come from England to lead the soldiery of New York and its neighbors against Chambly,

and Brigadier General John Hill, in command of Seymour's, Kane's, Clayton's, Kirk's, Disney's, Windresse's and Redding's regiments, reinforced by levies from Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, were to be carried in a great fleet of transports, convoyed by a squadron of warships under command of Admiral Sir Hovenden Walker. The warships, "Feversham," 36 guns, and "Lowestoft," 32 guns, with transports, were sent from New York to the rendezvous at Nantucket. The great fleet entered the mouth of the St. Lawrence River, August 22nd, and ran into a dense fog bank. Paradis, an experienced St. Lawrence River pilot who had been taken by Walker from a prize, was piloting the fleet, but Walker suspected him of treachery and interfered with him. As a consequence, eight of the transports and a provision ship were driven on the north shore near the Seven Islands at half past ten o'clock at night, and about two thousand were drowned. Of the soldiers, 884 were lost and 499 saved. Among the lost were a number of Scotch families who had purposed settling in Canada after the conquest. At a consultation held on the flagship after the disaster, it was decided to abandon the expedition, and a notification to that effect was sent to Nicholson, who fell back from the northern border. When news of the shipwreck reached Quebec, Governor Vaudreuil dispatched several barques to the scene of the disaster. These returned laden with spoils from the wrecked ships and reported finding articles of Catholic devotion in the wreckage.

Governor Hunter was confounded by this dis-

aster, and he was further overwhelmed, later in the year, by the tidings that the "Feversham" and "Lowestoft," the two warships that had sailed from New York, had been wrecked October 7th, with the three transports, "Joseph," "Mary" and "Neptune," on the coast of Cape Breton. In November, the little fishing ketch "Le Talente" sailed up the harbor and landed in New York city the lieutenant, master and forty-eight of the crew of the wrecked vessels. All the other officers and 102 of the crew were lost. The master of the ketch, Denis Courten de St. Aignan, had fallen in with the wrecked crews of the "Feversham" and the transports off Cape Breton. He agreed, for the sum of £2,400, to jettison his cargo of fish in order to make accommodations for the fifty men, and to carry them to Boston. They compelled him to change his course and take them to New York, where the stipulated sum was paid. Four of the shipwrecked crew had been left behind, having wandered from the main body and been lost on Cape Breton. De St. Aignan offered to return to the island and search for the missing ones, and Governor Hunter granted him a safe-conduct pass. He sailed for his northern destination and fell in with H.M.S. "Hector." Notwithstanding the Governor's pass, the captain of the "Hector" robbed St. Aignan of seventy pistoles in gold and considerable provisions and carried "Le Talente" into New York as his prize. There seems to have been little to choose in the early years of the eighteenth century between some British naval commanders and buccaneers, in the matter of honesty and fair dealing. De St. Aig-

nan ultimately reached Cape Breton and returned, as the records say that in 1713 he was paid £237 for rescuing the crew of the "Lowestoft."

Two French officers, probably the Sieur Réné Boucher de la Perrière and Lieutenant Dupuys, came to New York, in 1711, under a flag of truce, and Governor Hunter, suspecting them to be spies, detained them for a time as prisoners of war.

Lieutenant Francis Lebert and two companions came to Albany, in June, with a pass from Governor Vaudreuil, conducting Johnson Harmon and Simon Barton to Boston and New York. Still fearful of spies, Hunter had them hurried to New York to keep them under observation. Evidently provisions were scarce in New York, or the Assembly refused an appropriation, because the masters of two sloops applied to the council for permission to sail to Guadaloupe and Martinique "to load with provisions for the French prisoners."

The population of the city in 1712 was 4,848 whites and 970 blacks. The number of free Spanish Catholic Indians held in slavery was constantly increasing, despite the many laws enacted to suppress the traffic. A petition for their freedom was handed to Governor Hunter, soon after his arrival, on behalf of a number of freeborn Spaniards captured by privateers and sold into slavery. Among the victims was Stephen Domingo, a native of Carthagena, who had been held as a slave for eight years. Hunter, who was a high principled, just official, realized the unspeakable injustice of holding freemen in

bondage, and wrote to the Board of Trade that there were "Spaniards unjustly kept in slavery here for many years." He discovered that one Hosea, held as a slave by Mrs. Wenham, and one John, held as a slave by Mr. Vantelburgh, were brought to New York as prisoners of war taken from a Spanish vessel by a privateer; that they were Spanish American Indians and subjects of the King of Spain, sold as slaves in New York and held in bondage six or seven years, "by reason of their colour which is swarthy." If swarthiness was the sole reason for condemning Spaniards to slavery, how many white men were held in bondage? "I secretly pittyed their condition," wrote the Governor, "but haveing no othere evidence of w^{t} they asserted than their own words, I had it not in my power to releive them." A bloody reckoning was in store for the province because of this crime.

The city had been shocked, in January, 1708, by the news from Newtown, Queens County, that a well-to-do farmer, William Hallet, Jr., his wife and five children, had been murdered in their home by their slaves, an Indian man and a negro woman. Investigation seemed to indicate that the butchery was the result of a slave's conspiracy and that other families in the vicinity had been marked for slaughter. So important was the case of the slaves considered that the chief justice of the province, associate justices and the attorney general journeyed to Jamaica to try the conspirators. A number of slaves were jailed, and as a result of the trial the Indian man and negro woman were, February 2nd, executed at Jamaica and, according to the news-

paper account of the day, "put to all the torment possible for a terror to others, of ever attempting the like wickedness." Two other slaves were executed as accessories. As a result of this conspiracy the city was in terror of a slave uprising. It was realized that the presence among these ferocious Africans, many of them direct from the jungle, of free Spanish American Indians, burning with a sense of the cruel wrong done them in reducing them to slavery, with all its attendant cruelties and hardships, hopeless of redress and with intelligence sufficient to conspire and to lead the negroes against their oppressors, constituted a dreadful menace to the community. The Governor, council and assembly, in October, 1708, passed "An Act for Preventing the Conspiracy of Slaves." It provided that negro, Indian, "or othere slave or slaves" that should kill their master or mistress, or any other free person, should be tried by three or more Justices of the Peace and on conviction should "Suffer the pains of Death in such manner and with such Circumstances as the aggrevation and Enormity of their Crime in the Judgement of the Justices aforesaid of those Courts shall merit and require. . . ."

About midnight, April 6th, 1712, twenty-three dusky forms stole silently from all parts of the sleeping city to Crooke's apple orchard, near Maiden Lane. Under the shadow of the trees, the conspirators, Indian and negro slaves, produced many varieties of weapons, a few guns and swords, the others, hatchets and butcher's knives. A short whispered conference, and Coffee, a slave of Mr. Vantelburgh, the owner of John,

the free Spanish American Indian, stole silently away in the darkness to the premises of his master near by. Approaching an outhouse, he produced a flame, applied it to the contents of the structure, and in a moment a tongue of fire lighted up the darkness. He had been followed by his fellow conspirators, and as the flames burst from the little building the slaves shouted an alarm of fire. Roused from sleep, the neighbors came, one by one, to the scene, and as they approached a spurt of flame from a gun blazed out from an ambush, and the half awakened man dropped in his tracks. Others were surrounded by the infuriated slaves and hacked to death with hatchets and knives. Nine whites were killed and six badly wounded in this manner. The crackling flames, the gun shots, the blood-maddened, howling slaves become savages, and the shouts of "Fire!" and "Murder!" paralyzed with fear the people in the vicinity. One or two men, retaining their presence of mind, hurried to the fort and gave the alarm. The rolling of the drums called the soldiers from their slumbers, and in a short time a detachment of regulars hurried up town at the "double quick." Meanwhile from coigns of vantage the whites, who had armed when they had realized conditions, fired rapidly in the direction from which came the shots of the slaves. By the time the military arrived on the scene the slaves had retreated past the Common and the negroes' burial ground and, scattering, had found hiding places in the forests, caves and rocky fastnesses of the northern part of Manhattan Island. Next day the city was wild with excitement, fearing a general slave

insurrection. Regulars were stationed at the ferries, and the Governor called out the New York and Westchester counties' militia " to drive " the whole island.

The slaves, without friends or food, were compelled to surrender. Six of them, realizing the tortures that would follow conviction, committed suicide. Search parties dragged to the jail every one suspected of complicity in the rising. The Special Court quickly condemned twenty-seven of the unfortunates to death. It was felt that a terrible example must be made of the ringleaders, but it is difficult to realize that in the city of New York less than two hundred years ago several human beings were burned at the stake, one broken on the wheel, one hung in chains until he died of starvation, and the balance put to death on the scaffold. Governor Hunter did not approve of this wholesale slaughter. He wrote at the time: " I am informed that in the West Indies where their laws against their slaves are most severe, that in case of a conspiracy in which many are engaged a few only are executed for an example . . . more have suffered than we can find were active in this bloody affair." For this reason he reprieved and asked the Queen's pardon for the Spanish American Indians Hosea and John, who had petitioned him for freedom, and two others. The regard in which the negro slaves were held about this time by the people of New York is set forth in Humphrey's " Account of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts ": "Frequent discourses were made in conversation that they (the negroes) had no souls and perished as beasts."

In the fall of 1712 the sloops "Swallow," "Sybell" and "Sunflower," under flags of truce, carried a number of French prisoners to the West Indies. A general illumination of the city followed the receipt of the news that the treaty of Utrecht had sealed a peace between England, France and Spain. This peace proclamation caused great activity among the rascally kidnappers, and complaints were lodged with the courts, of attempts to kidnap Spanish prisoners of war and "run them off" before an exchange could be effected.

The Lords of Trade had begun to realize that the sending of incapable, discredited missionaries from England to the Indians was useless. In 1715 they wrote to Governor Hunter: "And in regard it is of great importance that the Missionaries sent into America from hence be men of good lives & Character, without which it will be impossible to defeat the practise of the French Priests and Jesuits amongst our Indians." Truly a most gratifying, if unintentional, tribute to the sons of St. Ignatius!

England and Spain were again at war in 1718, and in the summer of 1719 Gabriel Dubois Jourdain, a captain of cavalry in Martinique and owner of the ship "St. Michael," put into New York, his vessel having been badly damaged in a storm. He was permitted to sell a part of his cargo to meet the cost of refitting. As he was about to resume his voyage in September, he was compelled to invoke the protection of the provincial authorities, one Miller, a piratical privateersman, having announced his intention of making

a prize of the ship as soon as she was outside of Sandy Hook.

The French West India Company's ship "Victory," Chevalier de Rossell, commander, was captured outside of Havana in the early summer by H.M.S. "Diamond" and taken to New York. Among her passengers was Father Andre Saens de Bitare, a Spanish priest. Captain Jacobs, commander of the "Diamond," robbed the priest of a large sum of money and put him ashore. Governor Hunter granted him a pass to proceed to England, and he engaged passage on the snow "Amazon," bound for London. He took a boat at the dock to proceed to the vessel, but was stopped by a boat from the "Diamond" and again robbed and kept a prisoner by Jacobs. Luckily for Father Saens de Bitare, there was a Dominican chaplain, Father Thomas Grents, on the captured "Victory," and he, learning of Father Saens de Bitare's misfortunes, promptly petitioned the council for his release from the thievish clutches of Jacobs. The council directed Colonel Peter Schuyler, who, as president, had succeeded the upright Governor Hunter, to request Jacobs to permit the priest to resume his voyage.

The presence of two priests in the port, although brought there by the fortunes of war, made the doughty Albany Colonel and his councilors uneasy, and to provide for eventualities the following blank indictment was prepared the very day Schuyler succeeded Hunter.

"New York S.S.

"To the jurors for our Sovereign Lord the King and the ..... of the Province and county

of New York and upon their oath Do present that Whereas in an act of the General Assembly holden in the eleventh year of the reign of William the Third late King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith etc., among other things it has enacted, that all and every Jesuit seminary priest, missionary or other spiritual and ecclesiastical person, made or ordained by authority, power or jurisdiction and derived, challenged or pretended from the Pope or See of Rome, or that shall profess himself or otherwise appear to be such by practising and teaching of others to say any papist prayers, by celebrating mass, granting absolutions or using any other of the Romish ceremonies and rites of worship by any name, title or degree soever, such person should be called or known, or who continued to teach and remain or come into this province or any part thereof after the first day of November next after the making of the said act, should be deemed and accounted an incendiary and disturber of the public peace and safety and an enemy to the true christian religion and should be adjudged to suffer perpetual imprisonment as in the act of the General Assembly aforesaid it is contained.

"Nevertheless one ..... Being an ecclesiastical person made by authority pretended from the See of Rome after the said first day of November in the act aforesaid mentioned, to wit, the ..... day of ..... in the ..... year of the reign of our Lord the King that now is, Did come into the city and county of New York, in the colony of New York aforesaid and there remain and abide during the time and space

of ..... months after the date last aforesaid and during the time aforesaid. To wit on the ..... day of ..... in the said ..... year of the reign of our Lord the King and divers other days and months as well before as after within the time and space of ..... months aforesaid, at the City of New York aforesaid he the said ..... did profess himself to be an ecclesiastical person made and ordained by authority derived from the See of Rome. And the jurors aforesaid upon their oath aforesaid do further say that the said ..... after said ..... day of ..... in the ..... year of the reign of our Lord the King that now is, at the city of New York aforesaid within the colony of New York aforesaid, to wit the ..... day of ..... last past and sundry times before and afterwards, Did appear to be an ecclesiastical person made by authority pretended from the See of Rome by celebrating the mass and granting the absolution in contempt of our Lord the King that now is, and against the form of the act of Assembly aforesaid."

Father Thomas Harvey, S.J., who may truly be called the pioneer priest of the Church in New York, as he was the first priest known to have been stationed on Manhattan Island, died this year, in Maryland, aged 84 years.

William Burnet, a son of the Bishop of Salisbury and one of King James' bitterest enemies, came to New York as Governor in 1720. In its address of welcome the legislature addressed him as "the son of that worthy prelate so instrumental, under our glorious monarch William III,

in delivering us from arbitrary power and its concomitants, Popery, superstition and slavery."

The hearts of Governor Burnet and his like were made glad, in July, 1721, by the arrival in New York of one who had escaped from "Popery, superstition and slavery." John Durant waited on the Governor and explained that he was a former Recollect priest and had been chaplain of the French fort at Cataracouy. Durant claimed to be of Huguenot stock, and was desirous of changing his religion. He had a memorial giving full particulars of the movements of his countrymen at Niagara, and he was anxious to submit the information to the government at London—for a consideration. He evidently carried credentials from Burnet to the Lords of Trade, because that body wrote to the Governor the following year: "We have done what we cou'd for his (Durant's) Service tho' not with so much success as we cou'd wish." It is to be regretted that the Lords were not more explicit in setting forth the reasons for their lack of "success" with Durant. It would probably have revealed the cause of his apostasy.

The Lords of Trade made bitter complaint to King George at this time, that the Spaniards of St. Augustine "give shelter to all our runaway slaves." As 1,573 slaves had been carried into New York from the West Indies between the years 1701 and 1726, it is probable that a number of these found their way back to the Spanish possessions.

The city was visited in 1726 by a son of the distinguished Canadian, the Chevalier Claude de Ramesay, Seigneur de Sorel and Governor of

Montreal, and the following year Governor John Bouillet, Sieur de la Chassaigne, with four associates, arrived in the city with a letter from Governor General Beauharnois to the Governor of New York, protesting against British aggression at Oswego. Boillet served with distinction at Chambly, was commandant at La Chine and on de Ramesay's expedition. He was a son-in-law of the veteran Charles le Moyne, was Governor of Trois Rivieres at the time of his visit to New York, and was Governor of Montreal when he died. A son of François Hertel, another famous soldier of New France, came to the city in 1731. In after years he was one of Montcalm's bravest subordinates, and one of the last to sheath his sword in the final struggle between France and England.

President Rip Van Dam, who was Acting Governor in 1731, with his councilors, had "a bad quarter of an hour" over an incident that for the time looked as if "Popery" was not quite extinct. Thomas Pullen had, for some time, discharged acceptably the office of sheriff of Orange County. In October, the following affidavit against Sheriff Pullen was handed to the Acting Governor:

"The 8th day of October A.D. 1731 Their apered before me Joseph Blinfield one of his majesty's justices of the peace for the county of Oreng, John Allison of full age and did declare upon his sollem affarmation that some time ago he was at the house of Thomas Pullings and did hear Thomas Pullings say that the pop of Rom was a good cristian and that the papist Religion was a good cristian Religion and swair he would

stand by it this deponant asked the said Pulling if he was not ashamed to talk at that rate since he was sworn to the contrary and how he would ancer his oat But the said Pulling Replyed and sayed it was a good cristian Religion and he would stand by it, and furder his deponant saith not. John Allison.

" taken before me

" Joseph Blauvelt."

If the object of John Allison's affidavit was to produce a vacancy in the office of sheriff of Orange County, it failed, because Thomas Pullen, as the records show, was the incumbent for some years afterwards.

Even in this dark and bitter time for Catholics there were a few lowly ones who, despite persecution and contempt, made public profession of their faith. The *New York Gazette* contained the following advertisement: " Ran away the 18th of August 1733, from Jacobus Van Cortlandt of the City of New York, a negro man slave, named Andrew Saxton—the shirts he had with him and on his back are marked with a cross on the left breast. He professeth himself to be a Roman Catholic, speaks very good English."

John Leary, the livery-stable keeper and importer of horses, on Cortlandt Street, traveled to Philadelphia every year to perform his Easter duty, and avowed his faith so openly that the whole town knew of it. Their derisive remark, " John Leary goes to Philadelphia once a year to get absolution " troubled him not.

CHAPTER XIII

IN WHICH A CASE OF BURGLARY IS TRANSFORMED INTO A "POPISH" PLOT

George Clark was Lieutenant-Governor of the province in 1740. He was a man of little education, grasping, crafty and active, who, during his administration and for a long time subsequently, turned every occasion, cunning politician as he was, to his own pecuniary profit. The city's population had increased to nearly twelve thousand, about two thousand of whom were negro slaves. As regards public sentiment at this time, the preface to the second edition of Horsmanden's "New York Conspiracy" says: "A holy hatred of the Roman Catholics was inculcated by Church and State."

On the night of Saturday, February 28th, 1741, the house of Robert Hogg, the proprietor of a general store on Broad Street, corner of Jew's Alley (now South William Street), was broken into and robbed of money and goods. In addition to keeping the store Hogg and his wife had two well-to-do boarders and their two white servants. In casting about for some one to suspect, the Hoggs recalled that the servants of their boarders had a constant visitor, one Christopher Wilson, alias Yorkshire, a lad belonging to H.M.S. "Flamborough," stationed at the port.

Wilson was familiar with the Hoggs' premises, and a little investigation revealed that he was on very friendly terms with some slaves of dubious reputation: Caesar, belonging to John Varck, a baker; Prince, to John Auboyneau, merchant, and Cuffee, to Adolph Philipse. Mrs. Hogg recalled that some days before the robbery Wilson and some sailors from the "Flamborough" had come to the store to make purchases, and she had opened a till in which were a number of gold coins. It came out that Wilson had told his negro cronies of the booty to be had in Hogg's store, and that they in turn had consulted John Hughson, the keeper of a low negro resort and "fence," or depot for the reception of stolen goods, on Greenwich Street, near Thames Street. Margaret Sorubiero, alias Salinburgh, alias Peggy Kerry, a dissolute white woman, was an inmate of Hughson's house and a receiver of stolen goods. She also frequented the resort of John Romme, a cobbler and ale-house keeper near the new battery. The day after the robbery Wilson called on his friends in Hogg's house and, being questioned by Mrs. Hogg, told her that while he was in Hughson's place that morning John Gwin had pulled from his pocket a worsted cap full of silver coin, and had shared it with Philipse's negro, Cuffee.

That afternoon Wilson informed the authorities that John Gwin was an alias of the negro Caesar, and Caesar was arrested, identified by Wilson as John Gwin, and committed to the jail in the City Hall for trial. Caesar was examined by the magistrates next day, but denied all knowledge of the robbery, and was remanded. Prince,

arrested on suspicion for complicity, was also committed. Hughson and his wife Sarah were summoned to court, but denied all knowledge of the stolen goods and were discharged. High constable John Schultz and a posse made several searches of the Hughson's premises, but found nothing incriminating. Among the inmates of Hughson's house was an indentured servant, Mary Burton, the household drudge, a bold, glib-tongued, profane young woman, but for whose volubility and mendacity this chapter might not have disgraced the annals of New York. Mary, while on an errand to the house of Constable James Kannady, stopped to gossip with Mrs. Kannady, and the Hogg robbery having come up in the conversation, Mary told Mrs. Kannady that her husband was not cute enough to find the stolen goods in Hughson's, but that "he had trod on them." Mrs. Kannady and the constable hurried with the news to Under Sheriff Mills, and Mary was taken by him to Alderman Bancker's house, whence, after an examination by the alderman, she was sent for safe keeping to the City Hall, as she feared death at the hands of Hughson because of her revelations.

Hughson was hurried before the alderman, confronted with the Burton girl's deposition, weakened and confessed that some of the proceeds of the Hogg robbery were at his house. He was sent home under guard and, returning with the stolen goods, delivered them to the alderman. Mary Burton, the next day, confronted Hughson in court, accused him of receiving the stolen goods, and he admitted it.

An alarm of fire from the fort at one o'clock in the afternoon of March 18th, brought the fire engine from the City Hall down town at a lively pace. The flames were licking up the cedar shingles on the roof of his Majesty's house, as the Governor's residence was called, and a stiff breeze from the bay bade fair to carry the flames to every structure within the fort's walls, if not beyond. The soldiers of the garrison and the militia, acting as fire companies, worked heroically, but the dry woodwork in the ancient house was fine food for flames, and the building was destroyed. In a short time the church and the barracks followed, and the flames next consumed the secretary's office over the sally-port, from which a small army of volunteers had just renewed the provincial records. The high wind had strewn many of these papers all over the street, but most of them were recovered. The fire was conquered as it was about to attack the Governor's stable. It had leaped the fort walls and damaged some of the near-by buildings. Several soldiers had been burned or injured, but no lives were lost. After the fire Van Horne's company of militia was posted as guards and remained on duty during the night. An investigation satisfied the authorities that sparks from the charcoal furnace of Hilliard, a plumber, who had been repairing a gutter between the residence and the church, had caused the conflagration, and almost a month later Lieutenant-Governor Clarke, in a message to the assembly, so ascribed it. Subsequently self interest led him to adopt another view that would and did enrich him. One week later an alarm of fire brought

the engine down to Captain Warren's house near the long bridge. The fire was confined to the roof and did little damage. A spark from a smoker's pipe, it was said, kindled the lumber in Van Zant's old warehouse on April 1st, and three days later fires that did slight damage were reported from Quick's and Thomas's houses in the Fly. The next day some dead coals were found under a haystack near the coach house of Councilor Joseph Murray, on Broadway, and it was whispered that incendiaries were abroad. The whole town was discussing the fires, and a woman sitting at an open window of a house on Broadway heard one of a group of passing negroes say:

"Fire, fire, scorch, scorch a little, a little damn it, by and by."

Terrified, she hurried with the story to an alderman, who, with bated breath, communicated it to his associates the following day. A chimney fire on the 6th, in the house of Sergeant Burns, of the garrison, opposite the fort garden, became a great mystery. About noon there was an alarm of fire from Mrs. Hilton's house, next door to the Fly market. Between Mrs. Hilton's house and Thomas's, from which an alarm of fire had come on the 14th, was Captain Sarly's. Some months previous to the fire in Mrs. Hilton's house a Spanish prize ship had been brought into port. Part of its crew claimed to be free Spanish subjects, but, notwithstanding, they were condemned to slavery by the Court of Admiralty. Captain Sarly had bought one of these unfortunates. After the Hilton house fire had been extinguished, the mob that had gathered surged in front of Sarly's premises and shouted:

"The Spanish negroes! The Spanish negroes! Take up the Spanish negroes!"

A magistrate signed an order and posses scoured the town, arrested Sarly's negro and all the others from the Spanish prize, and they were committed to jail for examination. Spain and England were at war, but, in addition, the people were conscious of having deeply wronged these Spaniards for years, consequently public suspicion first pointed at them. It seems to be ingrained in human nature to suspect and hate those we have unjustly treated.

That afternoon an alarm of fire from Philipse's warehouse and an adjoining building drew the mob in force. A fireman, seeing a negro jump from a window of the house, shouted:

"A negro ! A negro!"

The crowd immediately changed the cry into:

"Cuff Philipse! Cuff Philipse! The negroes are rising!"

The crowd proceeded to Philipse's house, dragged Cuff, Philipse's slave, therefrom and bore him on their shoulders to jail. The negroes who were assisting in extinguishing the fires were seized by the mob and hurried to jail. The negro who had excited the fears of the woman on Broadway, who overheard him talking of the fires, was identified as Quack, or Quaco, a slave belonging to John Walters. He was arrested, and at his examination declared, and was corroborated by his companions, that they were discussing Admiral Vernon's recent capture of Porto Bello. On the night of this eventful day the fears of the people were further increased by the establishment of a military night watch that

was continued during this eventful summer. John Hughson and Sarah, his wife, were committed to jail by Mayor John Cruger on the 8th, charged as accessories to divers felonies and misdemeanors.

At a session of the Common Council on the 11th, Recorder Daniel Horsmanden spoke of the recent fires, "which had put the inhabitants into the utmost consternation." They were occasioned, he said, "by some villainous confederacy of latent enemies amongst us." The Common Council requested the Lieutenant-Governor to issue a proclamation offering a reward for the discovery of the incendiaries or their confederates. Two days later the alderman and councilman of each ward, accompanied by constables, made a house-to-house search. At every alarm of fire the householders in the vicinity tumbled their belongings pell mell into the street. Numerous complaints of missing goods came to the authorities from these panic-stricken citizens, and as a result the house-to-house search was instituted. When it was finished no stolen goods and no suspicious persons had been found. Two of John Chamber's slaves, Robin and Cuba, his wife, had articles in their possession that, in the opinion of the aldermanic investigators, were unbecoming their position as slaves, and they were committed to jail.

Lieutenant-Governor Clarke, with the advice of his Majesty's council, issued a proclamation offering a reward of £100 to any white person who would give information leading to the conviction of any one concerned in the recent fires, the informer to be pardoned if concerned therein;

any slave informer to be freed, the master of such slave to receive £25 therefor, the slave £20 and a pardon, if concerned; and a free negro, mulatto or Indian £45 and a pardon, if implicated.

From April 6th to 17th, the magistrates were busy examining witnesses, but could elicit no information. Cuff, Philipse's negro, when examined, proved by witnesses that he had labored to extinguish the fire in his master's warehouse. He was, notwithstanding, committed for trial. The ancient Staat Huys in Coenties Slip had been succeeded as a City Hall, in 1700, by a neat two-story and attic stone building on Wall Street, at the head of Broad Street. The first floor was entered by a flight of steps from Wall Street, which led to a great lobby or corridor more than half the building in width and extending through to the rear. On the west side of this lobby an apartment in front housed the city fire engine, and in the rear was located the city prison, its cell in the center of the space. On the east of the main lobby a short corridor led to the keeper's room in the rear, and opposite it the stairway to the floor above. The center of the second story was occupied by the Supreme Court room, the place made infamous by the proceedings about to begin. It was divided lengthwise by a railing which shut off the public, on the Wall Street side, from the space occupied by the bench, court officers and members of the bar. East of the court room was the jury room, and on the other side of the court room the Common Council chamber or Mayor's court. The debtors' prison was in the attic, or garret, a bare, unplastered apartment.

The Supreme Court of Judicature for the Province of New York opened its term in the court room in the City Hall April 21st. Impressive in their great wigs and scarlet gowns, Second Justice Frederick Philipse and Third Justice Daniel Horsmanden, "the New York Jeffreys," were on the bench. Justice Philipse, in charging the grand jury, spoke impressively of the recent mysterious fires in the city:

"My charge, gentlemen," he said in closing, "further, is to present all conspiracies, combinations and other offences, from treasons down to trespasses; and in your inquiries, the oath you and each of you have just now taken, will, I am persuaded, be your guide, and I pray God to direct and assist you in the discharge of your duty."

The grand jury sent a constable for Mary Burton, but she sent up word that "she would not be sworn or give evidence." She was produced, nevertheless, and the seventeen grand jurymen subjected her to something similar to what is known in the New York police department of to-day as the "third degree." She was threatened with all kinds of punishment in this world and the next if she did not divulge. It was a favorite formula of the day to urge a browbeaten and harassed prisoner to save his or her life by "making a free and ingenuous confession." No doubt the questions of the seventeen inquisitors furnished Mary with a complete story of their surmises and suspicions concerning the supposed plot to burn the town and kill the inhabitants. She weakened at length under the ordeal and consented to be sworn and to testify.

She accused the Hughsons of receiving the goods stolen from Hogg's house and said that she had heard Caesar, Prince and Cuff (Philipse's slave) talk with Hughson and his wife of an intention to burn the fort and town and kill the people. She further swore to seeing seven or eight guns and some swords in Hughson's house.

"That she never saw any white person in company when they talked of burning the town but her master, her mistress and Peggy Kerry."

These revelations caused a sensation in the grand-jury room, and were communicated at once to Arch Prosecutor Horsmanden. The wily Lieutenant-Governor saw in the fire at the fort, and these rumors of a conspiracy, an opportunity to add to his hoard, and wrote, on the 22nd, to the Lords of Trade: "My private loss is very great and more than I am able to bear without bending under it." The legal lights of the city held a conference on the 23rd with the justices, and it was decided not to proceed against the accused negroes in the summary way provided for negro slave cases in the law of October 29th, 1730, but to try them in the Supreme Court. For a day and evening the grand jury subjected Peggy Kerry to the ordeal that had broken Mary Burton, promising her a pardon if she would turn State's evidence, but she positively denied any knowledge of the fires.

When the residence in the fort was burned, many of the effects of the Lieutenant-Governor were stored in the house of Captain Vincent Pease. Some of these goods were stolen, and a servant of Pease's, Arthur Price, was arrested for the theft and committed to jail

to await trial. Conviction meant death, and when Price was approached with an offer of clemency if he would ingratiate himself with his fellow prisoners, committed to jail on suspicion of complicity in the conspiracy, he accepted the infamous position.

John Hughson, Sarah his wife, and Peggy Kerry were tried and found guilty, May 6th, of feloniously receiving stolen goods, and were remanded for sentence. Sarah Hughson, John's daughter, was arrested as a conspirator, and Jack, a slave of Joshua Slydall's, was committed on suspicion of having attempted to burn Murray's haystack. Arthur Price in the jail "pumped," as Horsmanden expresses it, Sarah Hughson, and on the information said to have been obtained from her, Robert Todd's slave, Dundee, was arrested. Peggy Kerry, examined again, implicated twelve negroes in a conspiracy concocted at John Romme's resort. Caesar and Prince were tried on the 8th, on a charge of robbery. No counsel was allowed them or any one tried during these troublous times. They were sentenced to be hanged, and Caesar's body to be hung in chains. Both Mary Burton and Peggy Kerry's confessions under examination were identical in many particulars, but Mary swore that Hughson's place was the scene of the conspiracy, while Peggy swore the whole mischief was concocted at John Romme's. Romme, at the first hint of trouble, had absconded, and Elizabeth, his wife, under examination emphatically denied all knowledge of any conspiracy.

A great crowd witnessed the execution of Caesar and Prince on the 11th. From a high

gibbet near the powder house, on an island in the Collect Pond, the body of Caesar hung in chains for many a day. As Caesar and Prince would not utter a word when importuned to confess at the scaffold, earnest efforts were made to extract a confession from Cuffee, Philipse's negro. The infamous Arthur Price was put in the cell with the negro and the under sheriff was directed to "give them a tankard of punch, now and then, in order to cheer up their spirits and make them more sociable." "This," in the words of Horsmanden, "produced the desired effects." Cuffee, under the influence of the punch, told Price that he was a member of the Geneva Club, an organization of negroes thus named to commemorate the theft of a quantity of Geneva gin some time before. "But it came out," says Horsmanden, "upon the examination of these negroes, that they had before that time the impudence to assume the style and title of *Free Masons*, in imitation of a society here, which was looked upon as a gross affront to the provincial grand master and gentlemen of the fraternity at that time, and was very ill accepted; however, from this time the negroes may be supposed to have declined their pretensions to this title; for we heard nothing more of them afterwards under that stile. But it is probable that most of this Geneva Club that were sworn (as Cuff said) were of the conspiracy; and it is likely that by the swearing Cuff meant sworn of the conspiracy." Nothing could be less likely. Arthur Price's deposition makes it very plain that while he was talking to Cuffee of those sworn to the conspiracy to burn the town and kill the people, poor, ignorant, rum-befud-

dled Cuffee's replies had reference to those who took the oath or obligation of the Geneva Club, the successor to the interdicted spurious Masonic lodge.

Mary Burton did some more swearing on the 13th, which was a day of public fasting and humiliation because of the province's calamities. She implicated three more slaves, and, probably to ingratiate herself with the justices, testified to friendly relations between Hughson and John Romme. The following day Romme was apprehended in New Brunswick, N. J., and was brought to New York, where he later denied any knowledge of a conspiracy. The court, on the 20th, recommended Peggy Kerry to the Lieutenant-Governor for pardon, provided "that it should not pass the seal till she should be thought amply to have merited it." Simply a bait to be dangled before her to produce further revelations. Sawney, or Sandy, a negro boy of Thomas Niblet's, brought down from Albany, where his master had sent him to be sold, to be examined as to his knowledge of the conspiracy and promised a pardon if implicated, provided he would make "a free and ingenuous confession," glibly told his story, implicating a number of negroes, including several of the Spanish Americans. According to his testimony, the fort and city were to be burned, and the design of the negroes was "to kill the gentlemen and take their wives." There were, he said, "two lodges," as Horsmanden records it, "of negroes, the 'Long Bridge Boys' and the 'Fly Boys.'" Having satisfied themselves that they had sufficient evidence to secure a conviction, the author-

ities brought to trial Quack and Cuffee, who had been indicted for conspiracy to kill, murder and burn. The trial proceeded with eight jurymen. "The panel being mislaid, no more of the jurors could be recollected." After hearing the evidence and Attorney-General Smith's charge, the jury quickly found a verdict of guilty. Justice Horsmanden delivered a harangue fanatical, abusive and unjudicial, and the sentence was pronounced as follows: "That you and each of you be carried from hence to the place from whence you came and from thence to the place of execution, where you and each of you shall be chained to a stake and burnt to death; and the Lord have mercy upon your poor wretched souls." There was a revolting scene enacted next morning at the place of execution. The condemned, Quack and Cuffee, surrounded by a mad, howling mob, were approached by Deputy Secretary Moore and John Roosevelt, Quack's owner, and the hope of a reprieve was hinted at if they confessed. Each of them was obliged to flatter his respective criminal that his fellow had begun (a confession), which stratagem prevailed." Both negroes, it was alleged, denounced Hughson as "the first contriver" of the whole plot and "promoter" of it. Quack, it was asserted, confessed that on the night of March 17th, he put a brand under the shingles of the house in the fort, and, returning next morning, found it still ignited, blew it and went away. When the confessions were finished, Deputy Secretary Moore asked the sheriff to delay the executions until the Lieutenant-Governor's pleasure in the matter of a reprieve could be learned. Horsmanden's

account of the proceedings at this point is not clear. It would appear that the Lieutenant-Governor favored a reprieve, but the crowd, becoming threatening, overawed the sheriff, and the unfortunate negroes died in the flames. As a result of Quack's and Cuffee's confessions, another batch of accused slaves was committed to jail.

In far-off Georgia, Governor James Oglethorpe wrote the following letter, the receipt of which in New York created a tremendous sensation in official and other circles and in fear-deranged minds the robbery of Hogg's store developed by stages into a "Popish" plot.

"FREDERICA, IN GEORGIA, May 16th, 1741.

"Sir:—A party of our Indians returned the eighth instant from war against the Spaniards; they had an engagement with a party of Spanish horse, just by Augustine, and brought one of them prisoner to me: he gives me an account of three Spanish sloops and a snow, privateers, who are sailed from Augustine to the northward for the provision vessels brought from the northward to the West Indies, hoping thereby to supply themselves with flour, of which they are in want. Besides this account which he gave to me, he mentioned many particulars in his examination before our magistrates. Some intelligence I had of a villainous design of a very extraordinary nature, if true, very important, viz. that the Spaniards had employed emissaries to burn all the magazines and considerable towns in the English North-America, thereby to prevent the subsisting of the great expedition and fleet in the West Indies: and that for this purpose, many

priests were employed, who pretended to be physicians, dancing-masters, and other such kinds of occupations; and under that pretence to get admittance and confidence in families. As I could not give credit to these advices, since the thing was too horrid for any prince to order, I asked him concerning them; but he would not own he knew anything about them.

"I am, sir, your very humble servant
"Superscribed JAMES OGLETHORPE.
"To the honourable George Clarke, Esq.,
"Lieutenant-Governor of New York."

On receipt of this letter there were few physicians, dancing masters or school teachers who were not put under observation. It was recalled that about a year before the mysterious fires Luke Barrington, a young man of twenty-five, had arrived in the city and had taken a position as teacher in a school in Ulster County. He professed to be the son of an Anglican minister, had left home after a quarrel with his father, and while traveling in Italy had become a Catholic. While in Ulster County, during a drinking bout a companion "drank King George's health, who (Barrington), taking the bason of liquor," had drunk the health of King Philip of Spain. Threatened with denunciation for his act, Barrington disappeared. It was recalled that, although a man of marked intellectual attainments, he preferred the company of Irish Catholic servants in the neighborhood to some of the prominent people who sought his acquaintance. He was arrested and incarcerated in Kingston jail, but effected his escape. These and similar stories

of mysterious "Papists" came from all parts of the province.

Hughson sent for Horsmanden from the jail, June 1st, and the justice, sure that Hughson had decided to confess, hurried to his cell, but Hughson swore positively to his innocence. John Hughson, his wife, daughter and Peggy Kerry were arraigned for trial on the 2nd. They were allowed no counsel. Mary Burton gave her usual testimony. Eleanor Ryan testified that she and her husband had lodged for two months in Hughson's house during the time the negroes were alleged to have assembled there, but had seen no negroes there except Caesar and Cuffee. Peter Kirby said of Hughson, "That he knew no harm of him." Gerardus Comfort, a next-door neighbor of Hughson's, swore that he had seen nothing amiss at Hughson's and "had seen no harm there." After a short absence from the court-room the jury returned with a verdict of "guilty" against all the prisoners.

The slaves Bastian, Francis, Albany and Curaçao Dick were tried on the 10th. Francis, a Spaniard, spoke little English, and was allowed an interpreter. All were convicted and sentenced to be burned at the stake. Bastian, having turned State's evidence, was respited. He denounced Hughson as the chief conspirator and said that the negroes were sworn on a Bible by Hughson to burn the town, kill the people and hold the place until the arrival of the French and Spaniards.

Five Spanish negroes, "lately imported into this city as prize slaves," were brought to the bar on the 15th: Antonio (De Lancey's), Antonio

(Mesnard's), Pablo, Juan and Augustine. They entered a plea that they had been unjustly treated in having been sold as slaves, when they were free subjects of the King of Spain. On this ground their indictment was faulty. They further pleaded that as Mary Burton, the only white witness against them, did not understand Spanish, and as they could not speak English, it was impossible for her to truthfully testify what conversation, she alleged, had taken place between them at Hughson's. This strong defence, which indicated the great intellectual superiority of the Spaniards over the average negro slaves, evidently embarrassed the prosecution, as the trial was adjourned until the 17th. On that date a second indictment for counseling and advising the negro Quack to burn the fort, etc., was presented against Antonio de St. Bendito, Antonio de la Cruz, Pablo Ventura Angel, Juan de la Silva and Augustine Guiterez, the five Spaniards having handed in their surnames to the Court. For the King appeared, to assist the Attorney General, Joseph Murray, James Alexander and John Chambers. No counsel was permitted the accused, although an interpreter was assigned them. Mary Burton, the only white witness, gave her usual testimony, naming only De Lancey's Antonio. Several of the negro informers were permitted to testify for the Crown. Richard Nichols, Deputy Register of the Admiralty, swore that nineteen negroes and mulattoes were brought into port by Captain Lush, in a prize libelled in the Court of Admiralty, as Spanish slaves, and sold as such in May, 1740. Captain Lush testified that Juan de la Silva could speak

English and De Lancey's Antonio just enough to be understood. Jack, one of the negro informers, testified that Pablo Ventura Angel, Becker's slave, had furnished the conspirators with clasp knives. Benson, a business partner of Becker's, testified that he had but three knives in his possession when he came to live in Becker's house, not many with which to arm a conspiracy. The greater number of these Spaniards were badly frostbitten or otherwise disabled by the extreme rigors of their first winter in a northern climate, and their owners, reputable members of the community, testified in the prisoners' behalf, in most of the cases, that their disabilities confined them to their master's houses during the period of the alleged plotting. Peter De Lancey, Abraham Peltreau, Dr. Dupuy, Gilbert Budd, Mrs. Mesnard, Captain Jacob Sarly and others, amongst the most influential people of the city, testified to the general good character of the Spaniards. In charging the jury, the Court held that if the accused had desired to enter the plea that they were free subjects of the King of Spain it should have been made in the proceedings before the Court of Admiralty, as if these strangers, ignorant of the processes of English law and of the language, could have understood the nature of the proceedings that condemned them to a life of bondage. The jury, after a half hour's deliberation, brought in a verdict of guilty. Juan de la Silva was condemned to be hanged, the others were transported to the Spanish West Indies.

On the Feast of the Assumption, August 15th, Juan, neatly dressed in white, devoutly praying in Spanish, with his eyes fixed upon a crucifix, to

which his lips were frequently pressed, was taken to the place of execution and hanged, solemnly protesting his innocence to the last. His collected behavior and sincere devotion made a deep impression even on the fanatics who were guilty of his judicial murder.

Lieutenant-Governor Clarke issued a proclamation the 19th, relating to the "conspiracy which had been set on foot, abetted encouraged and carried on by several white people in conjunction with divers Spanish negroes brought hither from the West Indies, and a great number of other negroes within this city and country, for the burning and destroying this whole city, and murdering the inhabitants thereof."

Since the receipt of Oglethorpe's letter, the authorities had convinced themselves that the "hand of Popery was in it," and a close search was made in the city for "Popish emissaries." In May, 1740, a pale, ascetic-looking, spectacled little man, John Ury, had taken lodgings in Croker's "Fighting Cocks" tavern and had announced himself as a schoolmaster willing and anxious to take pupils. He found a few, but subsequently entered into a partnership with Campbell, a schoolmaster, to conduct a school, Ury to teach Latin and Greek. Horsmanden's spies heard of him, and their chief thus records the circumstance: "Information having been given for some time past, that there had of late been Popish priests lurking about the town, diligent inquiry had been made for discovering them, but without effect; at length information was given, that one Ury or Jury, who had lately come into this city, and entered into partnership

with Campbell, a school-master, pretending to teach Greek and Latin, was suspected to be one, and that he kept a private conventicle; he was taken into custody, this day, and not giving a satisfactory account of himself was committed to the City jail."

Mary Burton, glib, obliging, imaginative Mary, made another affidavit on the 25th. She was told that John Ury had been arrested the day before, on suspicion of being a Roman Catholic priest, and was confronted with him. Did she know him? Had she ever seen him at Hughson's? Did she know him! Why, he used to come to Hughson's every night for a fortnight and sleep there sometimes. He called himself Ury and Jury and Doyle, and he went up with the Hughsons into the room where the negroes were plotting to burn the city and kill all the white people, "though she cannot say she ever heard him speak out, but said she esteemed his actions and behavior to signify his approbation and consent to what was carrying on by the company touching this conspiracy."

What a keen analyst of motives, and graphic describer of them, was Mary, the indentured drudge of the keeper of a negro dive, who, two months before, solemnly swore "that she never saw any white person in company when they had talked of burning the town but her master, her mistress and Peggy Kerry." Of all the negroes who had been searchingly examined by the keenest legal lights of the city, or who had confessed during the past two months, who had graphically and minutely described every person and thing about Hughson's place and its frequenters and

their words and acts, not one had mentioned Ury until he had been brought face to face with Mary Burton and she had been told all there was to tell concerning him, and presto! Hughson was deposed as arch conspirator, and the mild, inoffensive little schoolmaster Ury took his place.

The community had grown wearied of the "hellish negro plot." There had been, it is true, some fires of mysterious origin, but no white man, woman or child had been molested or injured by a negro. Save for one old gun, hidden near the fort, no concealed arms had been found, and the ten thousand whites were becoming incredulous concerning a plot involving about a hundred blacks armed with the clasp knives with which they cut their daily food. Bloody as were the effects of Mary Burton's confessions, the non-slave-owning people were beginning to smile incredulously over them, while the slave owners were dismayed and sore over the loss of so many of their human chattels, but—"the hand of Popery is in it," cried the crafty Clarke. "Popish priests lurking about the town," mysteriously whispered the bloodthirsty Horsmanden. These ominous utterances and Oglethorpe's "Popish" nightmare letter fired at once Protestant fears, indignation and zeal, and the sordid robbery of Hogg's general store, with its after developments, was carefully nursed into a "Popish plot," of which even London might be envious.

It was realized that it would not be safe to attempt to properly work up public opinion against Ury on Mary Burton's unsupported evidence, and there was no other free man available to swear against him, so Adam, a slave of Joseph

Murray's, of counsel for the Crown, who had announced his willingness to confess, and "who had just now been shewn him (Ury) in prison," testified that Hughson had asked him "last new year was three years" to join the negroes in burning the town and killing the whites. He had attended a meeting at Hughson's "soon after new year holidays last," at which he had been sworn into the plot, but, before taking the oath, had suffered from scruples that had been allayed by Hughson telling him "that there was a man he knew that could forgive him all his sins; whereupon he took the oath." He further confessed that he had seen the little short man, just shown him in prison, at Hughson's four or five times, who was, Hughson told him, one of the two priests who could forgive sins. During his calls at Hughson's he had seen Ury in a room with Hughson and the negroes four or five times, whispering and talking, but did not remember hearing any one talk about the plot when Ury was present. This was all very gratifying to the authorities, but poor Adam began to say too much, and related how Cuffee had told him that John Romme had promised to join the plot and "was very forward for it." Now, although this corroborated Peggy Kerry's recanted confession and made out Romme as "forward" for the plot, as was Hughson, it was evidently not agreeable to the authorities to have witnesses connect Romme with it, for on the evidence, such as it was, Romme was as plainly a receiver of stolen goods and a conspirator as Hughson, yet, owing to some mysterious but powerful influence, Romme was discharged on furnishing security to

leave the province, while Hughson was gibbeted. Adam, however, redeemed himself and did honor to that learned man-of-law Murray, his master, by swearing that he had seen two white men, Holt, the dancing master, and a Doctor Hamilton, sworn by Hughson into the plot, and he had seen four or five white men at Hughson's.

"That Holt's Joe (a slave) told him (Adam) not once but an hundred and an hundred times that he, Adam, need not be afraid, for that his (Joe's) master was concerned in the plot; and that he had spoke to Hughson for the biggest room he had there, to hold a free mason's lodge." "Holt, it seems," says Horsmanden, "was a free mason." The names of Holt, his slave Joe and Doctor Hamilton are not in the list of those taken into custody because of complicity in the so-called conspiracy.

Twenty other negroes "confessed" on the 27th, and not one of them mentioned having seen Ury at Hughson's. There was one man holding an office in New York city who seems to have retained some sanity and conscience in these dark days. High Constable John Schultz appeared before the court July 1st, and made an affidavit that let in a flood of light on the manner in which the miserable, ignorant, deluded negroes were lured, deceived and cajoled into assisting in constructing an imaginary plot and rushing to their own destruction. Schultz, in his affidavit, swore that, at the justice's orders, he had taken the written confession of Pierre Depuyster's slave Pedro, in which Pedro had sworn that he and Van Horn's Kid, Dr. Henderson's Caesar and several other slaves had taken an oath at Hughson's

to burn the town and kill the whites. Schultz swore that on June 30th, and subsequently, in the presence of white witnesses, Pedro had declared that his confession was utterly false and had been prompted by his fellow prisoner, Will, a slave, who assured him that unless he manufactured a confession and dragged in two or three others he would be hanged or burned. Will had further suggested the names of the proper negroes for Pedro to denounce. Pedro offered to produce four witnesses to prove Will's complicity. In another affidavit Schultz testified that Breasted's slave Jack had, after a searching examination, admitted that he had falsely implicated Hereford, a young slave of Samuel M. Cohen's.

The jail was overcrowded with negroes, and to thin it out the court recommended the names of forty-two of them to the Lieutenant-Governor for transportation. Anthony Ward's slave Will was burned at the stake July 4th, and made a confession implicating William Kane and Edward Kelly, " soldiers belonging to the garrison, and reputed papists." Private William Kane was arrested and examined next day. He testified that he was born in Athlone, Ireland. That he had no acquaintance with John Romme, had never met Ury or Jury or attended any of his congregations or meetings. Professed himself a member of the Church of England, and was never at any Roman Catholic service in his life. The only assemblage of negroes he had ever heard of was a dance at Private Edward Kelly's house. While Kane's examination was proceeding, an under sheriff told the justices that Mary Bur-

ton's memory had become further refreshed, and that she could swear she had often seen Kane at Hughson's. She was brought into court, confronted with Kane, and swore to his identity. Chief Justice De Lancey, who had been absent from the city since the negro plot trials began, was on the bench this day for the first time, and he seems to have had some misgivings concerning Mary and her stories. He solemnly admonished her concerning the nature of an oath and the crime of perjury, but she persisted in her statement, and, being sworn, testified that Kane had often discussed the plot with the Hughsons, Peggy and the negroes, and had promised to help them " all that lay in his power." The Burton woman having withdrawn, the justices subjected Kane to the " third degree," and he nearly fainted under the ordeal. He was told that he " must not flatter himself with the least hopes of mercy, but by making a candid and ingenuous confession of all that he knew of the matter." Realizing that all who made an ingenuous confession were leniently dealt with, and all who refused went to the scaffold or the stake, he " confessed," and before many days outshone Mary Burton as a confessor. He swore that he had gone with Jerry Corker, the Lieutenant-Governor's stableman, to John Coffin the peddler's house to attend a " Romish " christening. That three persons acted as priests, one of whom was Ury. Coffin, Corker and Daniel Fagan had discussed the matter of burning the town. He admitted having attended two meetings at Hughson's, and had seen Corker, Fagan, Coffin, Hughson's father and three brothers there. Ury

on one occasion had endeavored to "seduce him" to the "Romish" religion, "and there happened a squabble," after which Kane left, "or else he don't know but they would have seduced him, the priest and Coffin pressed him so." "Peter Connolly (a soldier), on the Governor's Island, has owned himself to have been bred a priest to him (Kane), and was often in company with Jury; Kelly (Private Edward Kelly) is a Roman; Connolly and he were intimate." He had seen Hughson swear eight negroes into the plot with the following impressive ceremony: A black ring was drawn on the floor about two and a half feet in diameter. Hughson bid every one pull off the left shoe and put his toes inside the ring. Mrs. Hughson held a bowl of punch over the heads of the initiates, and Hughson solemnly administered the oath to each, after which Mrs. Hughson treated them to a ladle of punch. Corker had told him that Hughson and he had designed to burn the English church on Christmas day during the service, but Ury had requested them to defer the burning until more favorable weather had dried the roof and filled the edifice with a larger congregation. The greatest spite of the conspirators, especially Ury, was against the English church.

John Coffin, the peddler, was examined on the 6th, and held for further examination. Sarah, a negress, was sentenced to be hanged because her testimony in certain of the cases was so different from her confessions "that the Court could give no further credit to her evidence." Sarah evidently gave more satisfaction to the Court subsequently, as she was not executed. Slow-witted,

miserable, tortured Sarah Hughson, who had been repeatedly sentenced to death and as often respited, concluded to make an "ingenuous confession" on the 8th, and implicated her father, mother and Ury. On her return to her cell she retracted every syllable of it and declared she knew nothing of any conspiracy. The Court determined to order her execution once more as a last "experiment" to force a confession.

William Kane and Mary Burton were again examined. Kane denounced Private Edward Murphy, of the garrison, also David Johnson, white, a hatter of the city. Mary Burton corroborated Kane's testimony, and, not to be outdone, implicated Private William Kelly and seventeen soldiers of the garrison, Holt, a dancing master, John Earl and John Coffin. High Constable John Schultz appeared in court on the 10th and deposed that C. Codwise's slave, Cambridge, had retracted his confession and denied all participation in and knowledge of any plot, and swore that he had been induced to manufacture a confession because his fellow prisoners had told him it was the only way to escape hanging.

Sarah Hughson was again examined on the 10th, and swore she had seen John Ury often in her father's house, and that he was deep in the plot. Peggy Kerry was a Catholic, and Ury, she thought, had "made her father and mother papists." This was promising, and next morning she was brought before the chief justice for further probing, but she denied emphatically every word she had uttered on the 8th and 10th. To make up for this disappointment, Mary Bur-

ton, on the 13th, implicated Corry, a dancing master, said to be a Catholic, and a Scotch doctor whose name she did not know.

John Ury, "apprehended upon suspicion of being a Romish priest and a confederate in the conspiracy," was examined on the 14th by the chief justice and Horsmanden. Ury declared that he was in no wise connected with the conspiracy, and was never in any way acquainted with the Hughsons or Margaret Kerry, and to his knowledge never saw them in his life. Mary Burton on this day surpassed herself. She described a fight in Hughson's place between one Butchell and an old man named Alanor. Diligent search of the city failed to discover any one who had ever heard of Alanor. Mary must have deemed it incumbent on her to produce some new victim, and, having exhausted the list of every one she had ever heard of, proceeded to manufacture names. William Kane, re-examined, had seen "a young gentleman with a pigtail wig" frequently in company with the conspirators. A feeling of uneasiness now began to pervade the white men of the city. The Burton woman and Kane were denouncing so many, and were rapidly advancing in the social scale in their choice of victims for denunciation.

John Ury, indicted on two counts for "counselling, aiding, abetting and procuring, etc.," a slave called Quack to set fire to the King's house in the fort and for "being an ecclesiastical person made by authority pretended from the See of Rome . . . and did appear so to be by celebrating masses, and granting absolutions, &c.," pleaded not guilty to both indictments on the

15th. A diary or journal had been found among Ury's effects that showed he had arrived at Philadelphia February 17th, 1739, and had traveled through southern New Jersey and Pennsylvania, teaching school for a time at various places, until his arrival in New York, November 2nd, 1740. Two entries read as follows: "Baptised Timothy Ryan, born 18th, April, 1740, son of John Ryan and Mary Ryan, 18th May, 1741." There were efforts made to locate John Ryan, but no trace of any one of that Christian name could be found in the city. "Pater confessor Butler 2 Anni non sacramentum non confessio." Who Father Confessor Butler was remains a mystery.

Two more soldiers of the garrison, Thomas Evans and James O'Brien, were implicated on the 18th by Othello, a slave of Chief Justice De Lancey's.

An error having been discovered in the indictment against Ury, he was arraigned again as an "ecclesiastical person, etc.," on the 22nd, and he renewed his former plea of not guilty. The sentencing and respiting of Sarah Hughson had so terrified and broken her down that when the chief justice took her in hand the following "confession" was produced. She had frequently, she swore, seen Ury at her father's house and had heard him talking to the negroes about the plot. Standing in the middle of a ring with a cross in his hand he had administered the conspirator's oath to the blacks. He had baptized a number of the slaves, and assured them he would forgive all their sins. Some of the negroes told her they had gone to Ury's lodgings, "where they used to pray in private after the popish

fashion, and that he used to forgive them their sins for burning the town and destroying the town and cutting of the people's throats." Peggy Kerry, she declared, was a strong "Papist," and used to confess in private to Ury. This was all very satisfactory, but the prosecution was determined to weave a halter for John Ury that could not possibly be broken during the trial, and there seems to have been a preliminary examination before the trial of every one who had any knowledge of Ury. Elias Debrosse, a confectioner, was examined the 24th by one of the justices, and his story was that in the previous April Ury, in company with Joseph Webb, a carpenter, came to his (Debrosse's) place of business and asked if he could sell him any sugar bits or wafers, and if the Lutheran minister bought his wafers of him. Debrosse had no wafers, and advised Ury to have a joiner make a mold for him. To an inquiry of Debrosse's as to where his congregation worshipped, Ury did not reply.

Joseph Webb, the carpenter who accompanied Ury to Debrosse's, was before one of the justices for examination on the 27th. He testified that he had known Ury for about ten months, having met him at John Croker's "Fighting Cocks" tavern, where Ury lodged. Learning that Ury was a schoolmaster, lately come from Philadelphia, Webb sent his child to him as a pupil. Becoming more intimate, Webb invited Ury to his house and board, and during Ury's stay they had frequently discussed ecclesiastical subjects. Ury had told him that he was a nonjuring minister and had been arrested in London for publishing a book that had been denounced

as treasonable. Through the good offices of a powerful friend he got away from England, but had forfeited thereby a church preferment of £50 annual income.

"Ury," said Webb, "in some of his conversations upon religious topics expressed himself in such a dark, obscure and mysterious way that he could not understand him, and would give hints that he could not make neither head nor tail of." There is much about Ury, and the testimony concerning him, to indicate that his mind was deranged on the subject of religion. In May, to continue Webb's story, Ury had joined Campbell, a schoolmaster, in conducting a private school, and both had removed to the house formerly occupied by John Hughson. One day the negro was the subject of conversation between Ury and Webb, and Webb had remarked that the negroes had souls to be saved or lost the same as other people.

"They are not proper subjects of salvation," replied Ury.

"What would you do with them, then, would you damn them all?" asked Webb.

"No," said Ury, "leave them to that Great Being that has made them. They are of a slavish nature; it is of the nature of them to be slaves. Give them learning, do all the good you can, put them above the condition of slaves, and in return they will cut your throats."

John Ury's trial began July 29th, before the chief justice, Justice Philipse and Justice Horsmanden. Associates with Attorney-General Bradley in the prosecution were Messrs. Murray, Alexander, Smith and Chambers. Poor John

Ury was allowed no legal adviser in his fight for life. The indictment charged him with abetting the negro slave Quack in setting fire to the King's house. In opening the indictment the attorney general appealed to the bigoted fanaticism of the jury with the following tirade against the Catholic Faith: "... These and many other juggling tricks they have in their hocus pocus, bloody religion, which have been stripped of all their wretched disguises and fully exposed in their own wretched colours by many eminent divines, but more particularly by the great Dr. Tillotson, whose extraordinary endowments of mind, his inimitable works and exemplary piety and charity have gained him such universal esteem and applause throughout all the Protestant world as no doubt will endure as long as the Protestant name and religion lasts, which I hope will be to the end of time."

The star witness, Mary Burton, was put on the stand. Mary told her usual story and introduced a novelty. She had been spying under the door of a room in Hughson's house in which Ury, the Hughsons and Peggy Kerry were in conference with the negroes and had seen "a black ring on the floor, and things in it that seemed to look like rats, I don't know what they were." Horsmanden learnedly conjectures that they were "the negroes, perhaps, pulling their black toes backwards and forwards."

Mary Burton was followed by Private William Kane, who testified to Ury's complicity in the plot and his own arduous trials and tribulations in escaping Ury's machinations to subject him to "Romish" baptism. Sarah Hughson re-

peated the testimony given at her last examination, and received as her reward "his Majesty's most gracious pardon." As a finishing touch for the prosecution, Governor James Oglethorpe's letter was read to the jury. With this the prosecution rested, and the slight, pale, spectacled little man, looking pitiably forlorn and deserted, arose and faced the three stern-faced, bewigged justices and the array of legal talent opposing him. In opening he told of Webb coming to him more than a week before his arrest with the information given him by Mr. Chambers, of Counsel for the Crown, that "the eyes of this city were fixed on me, and that I was suspected to be a Romish priest and thought to be in the plot," but, certain that his innocence would protect him, he had made no attempt to leave the city. "As there is a great, unknown and tremendous being whom we call God, I never knew or saw Hughson, his wife, or the creature that was hanged with them, to my knowledge, living, dying, or dead, or the negro that is said to have fired the fort, excepting in his last moments." He was interrupted by the Court and told to examine his witnesses if he had any and make his defence afterwards.

John Croker, the landlord of the "Fighting Cocks," the first witness called for the defence, testified that Ury had lodged in his house from November, 1741, until he and Campbell had hired the house in which Hughson had formerly lived. While lodging in his house, Ury reached home nightly as early as eight o'clock, and only once or twice after twelve. He had heard Ury preach on one occasion, and before the sermon Ury had

prayed for King George and the royal family.

Webb, the next witness, repeated the testimony given at his preliminary examination, and added that he had constructed something for Ury "which I have since heard called an altar." It consisted of two pieces of board which formed a triangle, and was raised against the wall, at the bottom of which was a shelf; on each side was a place to hold a candle. Ury's partner, John Campbell, swore that when he and Ury went to take possession of Hughson's house, Ury mistook Gerardus Comfort's house for Hughson's. He considered Ury "a grave, sober, honest man."

Campbell's wife followed him on the stand and related that she, her husband and Ury went on May day to take possession of the house formerly occupied by Hughson and hired by her husband. They had found Hughson's daughter Sarah on the premises, and the witness told her she must vacate, as her husband had hired it, whereupon Sarah Hughson cursed and swore at her.

"How dare you talk so impertinently and saucily to an old woman, you impudent hussy! Go out of the house or I will turn you out," Ury had said.

Sarah "swore miserably" at him, and added: "You have a house now, but shall not have one long."

At the close of Mrs. Campbell's testimony the Attorney-General announced that, as the prisoner had been endeavoring to prove that he was not a "Romish priest, and has already insisted on it as part of his defence, I shall beg leave to examine

a witness or two to that point." Joseph Hildreth, a rival schoolmaster to Campbell and Ury, was sworn and testified to various conversations with Ury which to the unprejudiced mind would carry conviction that Ury was anything but a Catholic priest. One of their talks Hildreth repeated, as follows: "Says he (Ury), your Romish priests will make you believe that black is white, and white black, and that wafer and wine is the real body of Christ." Strange talk from a Catholic priest!

"I seeing the altar placed in a corner," testified Hildreth, concerning a visit to Ury's room, "I asked him what use that was for? First he said only to lay books on, or for a candle to sit and read by; but I told him I could not think it, for I supposed it for the sacrament by its form and odd colour. I begged him to let me know what it was, so after some time he seriously told me it was for the sacrament. And he told me, I think, every saint's day it was exposed, only covered with a piece of white linen, and that he administered on some proper days. And he told me they received the wafer instead of bread, and white instead of red wine. I asked him why the wafer? Because, says he, the wafer is more pure; and no bread he thought pure enough to represent the body of our Lord. . . ." Hildreth further testified that Ury kept a private meeting and made use of "the Church form of prayer" every Sunday evening in his room in John Campbell's house.

Richard Norwood testified that Ury taught his children to read and write. Ury's conversation led the witness to suspect that he was a "popish"

priest. Norwood was curious as to where Ury went evenings, and had intended "to have dogged him" to find out. One day, meeting Campbell, the schoolmaster, speaking of Ury, said: "D——n him, he is a popish priest."

With this the evidence closed, Mr. Smith, armed with several ecclesiastical looking tomes, proceeding to prove that the ceremonies used by Ury were so similar to the usages of the Catholic Church as to convince everybody that he was a priest of the Roman Church. He read from Peter de Moulin's "Anatomie de la Messe," in reference to the use of salt, and from Montalte on absolution. Poor Ury's defence was that there had been no evidence presented to prove that he was a priest of the "Church of Rome." Smith's speech to the jury, which followed, was a vile tirade against the Catholic Church and grossly insulting to the accused. At its close the Chief Justice charged the jury, and that body, after an absence of fifteen minutes, returned with a verdict of guilty. Ury was placed at the bar for sentence August 4th, and, when asked why sentence of death should not be pronounced against him, "had nothing to offer," but asked for time in which to arrange his private affairs. The Chief Justice, "after taking notice of the heinousness of the offence of which he was convicted, the dangerous and pernicious tendency of the doctrines of the Church of Rome, which emboldened her disciples to embark in the most hazardous, wicked and inhumane enterprises, which he illustrated from several passages cited from the works of the late Archbishop Tillotson," sentenced Ury to be hanged on August 15th. One

of the Spaniards, Juan de Sylva, was sentenced to be hanged on the same day. Ury was respited. Day after day the bloodthirsty rabble had collected at the place of execution to abuse and jibe at the rum-deadened blacks sent into eternity, or to roar with ferocious laughter at the strange antics of the fear-crazed victims. The same crowd had assembled on August 15th, but it looked not upon the shocking details that attended the end of the black heathen, but on the peaceful, collected passing away of a Catholic Christian. Even the hardened Horsmanden was forced to declare that Juan "behaved decently."

John Ury was hanged August 29th. Joseph Webb, the carpenter, who testified in his defence, was his faithful friend to the last, accompanying him to the scaffold. He handed Webb a copy of his last speech. Horsmanden prints in his book a speech which he says was a copy of the manuscript written by Ury, but admits that it differs from one "supposed to have been printed in Philadelphia," and adds that the speech printed in Philadelphia "perhaps might have been altered and corrected by some of his associates." In the speech, as given by Horsmanden, Ury solemnly protests his innocence and, referring to the Sacrament of Penance, says: "I firmly believe and attest that it is not in the power of man to forgive sin; that it is the prerogative only of the great God to dispense pardon for sin; and that those who dare pretend to such a power, do in degree commit that great unpardonable sin, the sin against the Holy Spirit, because they pretend to that power, which their own consciences proclaim to be a lie."

"The law passed against the Catholic priests," says John Gilmary Shea, "was once only enforced, and then to bring to death a Protestant clergyman."

With the execution of Ury, the negro plot hallucination seems to have died. John Corry, the dancing master, and the soldiers, Andrew Ryan, Edward Kelly, Edward Murphy, Peter Conolly, John Coffin, the peddler, and David Johnson, the hatter, were discharged from custody August 31st, no one appearing to prosecute, and on October 21st the relatives of John Hughson were pardoned, on condition of their leaving the province. During the continuance of this public mania, in addition to the whites who had suffered, eleven negroes had been burned at the stake, eighteen hanged and fifty transported. The book written by Horsmanden, the originator of the plot, "whose conscience smote him," says Shea, "is a monument of their (the authorities) senseless credulity, disregard of law and reason, and greedy bigotry," but it proved a lucrative venture. The plot was also a "lucrative venture" to Clarke, the Governor. This man, whose losses, he claimed, by reason of the fire in the fort, were "very great and more than I am able to bear without bending under it," took with him from the province, according to the historian Smith, the sum of £100,000.

CHAPTER XIV

IN WHICH MANY FRENCH AND SPANISH PRISONERS OF WAR AND REFUGEES COME TO THE CITY, INCLUDING AN APOSTATE RECOLLECT

THE relations between England and France were strained to the breaking point in 1743, and every Frenchman in New York city not known to be a Huguenot possessed of letters of denization, was carefully watched to ascertain if he was a spy. There was a big Moravian settlement in Dutchess County, and there were grave fears in the council that the disaffected among the Moravians were furnishing information to the French. These suspicions included the Moravian ministers, and the sheriff of Dutchess County was directed to investigate and to order the clergymen to New York city for examination by the council.

Every visitor to the city whose garb or tongue suggested anything French or Canadian was reported to the authorities, and when, in June, 1744, a strange Frenchman, accompanied by a woman, arrived and took up lodgings, Governor Admiral George Clinton was informed, and he confined them to their apartment and placed two sentinels at the door to make sure that they did not escape. The man gave the name of Michael Houdin and said the woman was his wife. Noth-

ing further was learned concerning them until a letter from Lieutenant Lindesay, in command of the fort at Oswego, was read at the council meeting, July 5th, 1744, in which he told that Houdin and his companion had passed that way from Canada and had informed him that a body of eight hundred Frenchmen would attack the fort as soon as the provision fleet arrived from France. Houdin and the woman were examined by the council, and for their safer keeping were ordered to take up their abode in Jamaica, Long Island. Houdin had little means, was generally regarded as a French spy, and avoided by the people of the place.

In August he wrote to Governor Clinton, representing his circumstances as very precarious and bewailing his inability to do anything in Jamaica to earn a living, and that consequently he and his wife would soon be reduced to want. He and the woman were permitted to come to the city, and the oath of allegiance was administered to him.

The sheriff of Dutchess had found Estien la Roche, a French deserter, among the Moravians, and, February 12th, 1745, sent him to New York for examination. La Roche met Houdin in New York, and at once recognized and identified him as Father Potencien, one time Superior of the Recollects at Trois Rivieres. It would be very dangerous, in the council's judgment, to have a "Romish" priest, even though a runaway, at large, so "Father Potencien" was again confined to his lodgings. It was learned subsequently that Houdin was born in February, 1705, and in 1730 had been ordained in the Franciscan

order by the Archbishop of Treves. On his arrival in Canada he had been preferred to the office of Superior of the Convent of Recollects.

He had so far ingratiated himself into the good graces of his new friends in New York that after publicly renouncing the Catholic faith and subscribing to the Articles of the Church of England, on Easter Sunday, 1747, he was invited, in June, 1750, to officiate as a minister in Anntown, Allentown, Bordentown, and Trenton, New Jersey. Without waiting for a license from the Bishop of London, he accepted the call from New Jersey. For his New Jersey missionary labors he received an annual gratuity of £30 from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. He preached in Trinity Church, New York city, about this time.

By command of Lord Loudon, he accompanied the expedition under General Wolfe against Canada in 1759, and ranked as chaplain in Lord Amherst's army in 1761. The *New York Post Boy*, issue of June 4th, 1761, contained the following: "We hear from Montreal that the Vicar General of all Canada, residing at Montreal, has wrote a pressing invitation to the Rev. Mr. Udang (Houdin) the Chaplain of a Regiment at Quebec to return to the Romish religion with a promise of great preferment in the Church, which Mr. Udang put into the hands of General Murray, who sent it enclosed to General Gage, who, upon the receipt of it sent a guard to take the Vicar General into custody; what will be the issue is not known." As the British authorities at that time were anxious to conciliate the Can-

adians, it is not likely that the "issue" was very serious for the Vicar General.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts appointed Houdin missionary to the church in New Rochelle in August, 1761, and the wardens and vestrymen petitioned Lieutenant Governor Cadwallader Colden to grant a brief through the province to collect £400 to build a parsonage for Houdin—"a French Refuge, a Gentleman of Good Character." An application for a church charter in 1762 was signed, among others, by "Michael Houdin, Minisr, John houdin, Catherine houdin, Kitty houdin and Elizabeth houdin."

Houdin died in October, 1766, and the Rev. Harry Munro, of Yonkers, preached the funeral service from the text, "Prepare to meet thy God." The body was placed beneath the chancel of the old French church. The building was demolished in course of time, and the shifting of street lines left Houdin's dust under the highway. In the *Liste Chronologique* of the Canadian clergy, "Potentian Houdin," a Recollect, is recorded as having left the country in 1748, but this date is evidently erroneous.

"Popery" was again appearing, it was feared, in the city in 1744. To better their fortunes, Christian Frederic Post, a joiner, and David Zeisberger, a carpenter, came to town in February, and were at once arrested and imprisoned in the City Hall under suspicion of being disguised "Papists." Public excitement was allayed, and they were released when they protested that they were Moravians from Pennsylvania, and to prove it produced a document from the famous

Moravian leader, Conrad Weiser, Justice of the Peace of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, countersigned by Governor George Thomas of that province, certifying that the bearers were true Protestants.

War was declared by France against England in 1744, and French prizes and prisoners began to come into the port. The following description of a prize, from the columns of the *New York Evening Post* of June 28th, reads a trifle too much like romance. The "brave and active Thomas Frankland" brought in a French ship of 400 tons and 20 guns, "having on board 800 serons of coca in each of which 'tis said is deposited as customary a Bar of Gold 68 Chests of Silver Coins (already found) containing 310,000 Pieces of Eight. Private Adventure in Gold and Silver Coins, and wrought Plate of equivalent Value besides which there had been also found a compleat Set of Church Plate, a large Quantity of Gold Buckles and Snuff-boxes, a curious Two-wheeled Chaise of Silver the Wheels and Axles &c of the same Metal a large Quantity of Diamonds, Pearl and other precious Stones, upwards of 600 Weight of gold &c. Gold was also found secreted in the ship's knees and Barricades and the prisoners wore shoes with hollow heels also full of Gold. Among the prisoners was a nephew of the Viceroy of Mexico." The weak point in this Munchausen-like story is that there is no "brave and active Thomas Frankland" recorded as from the port of New York, but the story is interesting, if only for its indication that the eighteenth century newspaper reporter was not lacking in imagination.

The French and Spanish prisoners were not allowed at large during the summer of 1744, but were confined in the county jails and were maintained, such maintenance as they got, as county charges. Any of them found straggling about the town were brought before a magistrate. Officers of vessels were allowed to remain in town upon giving their parole of honor not to "stir out" unaccompanied, and on promise to return to quarters early every night. Boatswain mates and carpenters of prizes were permitted to seek employment from carpenters and riggers in the city, but the prejudice against them prevented their finding employment.

Governor Clinton informed the assembly that it must care for and maintain the Frenchmen and Spaniards as all civilized nations took care of their prisoners of war. The assembly was of opinion that the owners of privateers should provide for the officers of prizes taken by their vessels, but the owners refused to spend a penny for their maintenance. The assembly, as the number of prisoners increased, began to chafe under the expense of their subsistence, and wanted them shipped off to French ports without delay. Nicholas Bayard and Henry Cuyler offered to transport them to any port the Governor would designate, at £20 a head, if granted permission to carry a flag of truce. During 1745 many French and Spanish prisoners were carried from the port to the West Indies in "flags of truce." It will be recalled that, in the trials of the Spanish negroes accused of complicity in the negro plot of 1742, their claim to be freemen was disallowed on the ground that their petition for

freedom should have been submitted at the proceedings for their condemnation as slaves. Reports of these trials must have reached the Spanish West Indies, because, June 6th, 1745, Fernando Bernard, Fernando Bernal and Antonio Agilar, three Spanish negroes, presented to Governor Clinton a petition on behalf of themselves and five others captured and brought into port by the privateer "Batchelors," setting forth that they were free Spanish subjects, and praying that they be not condemned and sold as slaves.

Notwithstanding the presence of numbers of French and Spanish Catholic prisoners of war in the city, the Reverend Robert Jenney wrote, November 14th, from Philadelphia, to the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts: "There is not in New York the least trace of Popery."

CHAPTER XV

CONCERNING NEW YORK PRIVATEERSMEN AND THEIR INHUMAN TRAFFIC IN SPANISH FREEMEN

New York city, a hotbed of political and religious hatred and suspicion, was not a desirable place of abode in colonial war times. Even professional men did not hesitate to discredit and destroy rivals by appealing to the bigotry of the community.

Among the physicians practising in the city in 1746 were Doctors Thomas Standard, William Brownejohn and Magraw. A letter was handed to the Clerk of the Council by Doctor Standard, February 10th, in which he stated that Doctor Brownejohn had told the writer that Doctor Magraw, a practising physician of the city, was a pensioner of the King of France. This information, it was asserted, had come from a Mrs. Garland, or Galland, who had it from Magraw's wife. The council was startled. That a pensioner of the King of France was in the city in a position to enter the families of men of all stations and acquire information of all kinds in war time suggested spying and unlawful correspondence with the King's enemies.

The council appointed a committee of five to investigate, with instructions to seize and secure

Doctor Magraw's person and papers if it should appear that he was in the French King's pay. The disclosure caused a flurry of excitement, and a Frenchman from Curaçoa and two others from Connecticut, with a pass from the Governor of that province, were imprisoned until a flag of truce was ready to carry them to some French port. The council's committee met without a day's delay and summoned all the people mentioned in Doctor Standard's letter to appear for examination. Doctor Brownejohn, being sworn, testified: "That his wife told him that Doctor Fisher told her and that Mrs. Galland told him or his wife that Mrs. Magraw told Mrs. Galland that Doctor Magraw was a pensioner of the King of France, and the deponent further stated that he had often heard that Doctor Magraw was brought up a Jesuit." (Worse and worse!)

Doctor Archibald Fisher, being called, testified "that some time last spring, to the best of his remembrance, Mrs. Galland told him that Mrs. Magraw informed her that Doctor Magraw had been a pensioner of the French King or Court of France." Mrs. Galland, the next witness, testified: "That Mrs. Magraw and she had been talking about traveling. Mrs. Magraw told her that Doctor Magraw, her husband, had formerly had a pension from the Court of France, and that it had been taken away from him four or five years ago." The committee deliberated for awhile and reached the sensible finding that the grounds were not sufficient to warrant Doctor Standard in writing his letter of denunciation to the council's clerk.

Aroused by the frequent condemnation to slavery of free Spanish subjects in New York and the capture of Spanish flag-of-truce vessels on the high seas, the Spanish authorities in the West Indian islands took steps to end these intolerable conditions. Arthur Helme, a piratical privateersman, owner of the New York privateer "Polly" (2nd), was a notorious offender against the Spaniards. He was in southern waters with a flag of truce in the spring of 1746, and was captured by the Spanish authorities, likely on the ground that his actions had put him outside the operation of the laws of civilized nations. His capture caused a flurry in New York governmental circles, and was referred by the Governor and council to a committee for consideration and report. Horsmanden, of negro plot notoriety, was chairman of the committee, and his report, submitted May 3rd, was a characteristic specimen of British bluster. The report recommended that the Advocate-General prosecute Helme as soon as he arrived in New York, and that the Governor write the Marquis De Caylus, Governor of Martinico (Martinique), expressing surprise that he should detain English subjects prisoners, as justice would be done by Helme's government on him. It recommended that the Governor detain all Spanish prisoners until the Marquis released the Englishmen detained by him.

In reference to a complaint from the Governor of Havana that several Spanish mulattoes had been condemned as slaves, the committee recommended the Governor of New York to write to him of Havana, "expressing your sur-

prise at his detaining English subjects in the same manner as the Marquis De Caylus," and promising that Governor Clinton would direct the Judge of the Admiralty to reconsider the sentences of condemnation to slavery in cases in which the Spanish Governors would certify that the condemned were free Spanish subjects, and concluded " lastly, that your Excellency insist on the discharge of such of the King of Great Britain's subjects as are now prisoners at the Havannah upon the matter of this complaint."

The British colonial governments were soon to learn that bluster and bluff would not settle this serious matter. In June, Governor Clinton received a letter from Governor William Greene, of Rhode Island, requesting him to release from slavery as many Spanish free subjects taken by the privateersmen John Dennis and Robert Morris as could be found in New York. It developed that, as early as February, Don Juan Franz de Nunez y Havasitas had written to John Tinker, Governor of the Bahamas, informing him that he had exchanged certain English prisoners, and demanding the release of free Spaniards made slaves in New York, threatening retaliation in the event of a refusal.

The Spanish sloop " San Miguel y la Virgen de los Dolores," flying a flag of truce, sailed up New York Bay July 19th. Her commander, Don Jose Espinosa, was a fine type of the Spanish gentleman and sailor, admirably fitted for the difficult mission that had taken him to New York. He bore twenty-one letters from

Governor Nunez y Havasitas to Governor Clinton, including a list of sixty-nine English prisoners sent by the Governor of Havana on Espinosa's sloop for exchange. The first business considered seems to have been a review of the disposition of the petition of the free Spanish negroes, Bernal, Agilar and others, presented to Governor Clinton in 1745. The results were as follows: Fernando Bernal, sold for £28, was liberated. Antonio Agilar, sold to the privateersman, Thomas Seymour, for £46, and carried by him to sea, was declared free on the oath of Don Jose Espinosa that he was a freeman. Thomas Joseph, sold to another privateersman, Captain Thomas Grennell, for £51, had died. Manuel Cervantes, who was about to be sold to Captain Farman, was freed on Don Jose Espinosa's affidavit. Anthony De Ferres, who had been sold to Thomas Barnes for £31, was likewise liberated by Espinosa's affidavit. Two other negroes, sold to Captains Grennell and Keleltas for £56 and £42, were condemned as slaves.

Espinosa wrote to Mayor Stephen Bayard, July 29th, a letter that throws some light on the character of British colonial privateersmen, even when dealing with their own countrymen in misfortune. A privateer brigantine from Rhode Island, commanded by Captain Sangrene (Sam Green?), with Daniel Denton, lieutenant, captured a Havana galley and other Spanish vessels near Cape San Antonia. Two of these vessels were retaken by the Spaniards, on one of which were twenty-one Englishmen, including Daniel Denton. At Havana the prisoners were

positively identified as having sold free Spanish negroes and mulattoes, captured as prisoners of war, into slavery in the English colonies. The Governor of Havana thereupon told Denton that, unless he brought back to Havana every free Spanish subject sold by him and his mates as slaves, he would condemn the twenty English prisoners to slavery. The prisoners executed a power of attorney to Lieutenant Daniel Denton to receive the shares due them in Rhode Island for the prizes taken, and with this money he was to redeem the Spaniards and reconduct them to Havana. Denton sailed away to the north, and nothing further was heard from him. The Spanish Governor awaited his return for a reasonable time and then imprisoned the Englishmen in a castle.

"I, the supplicant," wrote Espinosa to Bayard, "has seen them at his departure w'th teers in their eyes that their affliction was so great, they only desired him to doe all in his power for them. And having sertain inteligence that there is in the City sundry free Spanis mulattos and negroes sold as slaves I cannot discharge the trust imposed in me if I did not pray for your Honor's assistance that they may be restored to me."

Such was the attitude of a Spanish colonial Governor and an agent towards a black man one hundred and sixty years ago. In this, at least, the Latin was far in advance of the so-called Anglo-Saxon. Espinosa in this letter gave the names of nineteen Spanish Americans held in New York as slaves who were, he could swear positively, Spanish free subjects. He asked the

mayor to obtain a passport for Iago Ferara, one of his men, to enable him to proceed to Rhode Island to endeavor to find the Spaniards who were held in slavery there and to recover, if possible, £400 that Ferara had advanced in Havana to Denton and his fellow prisoners. In conclusion, he asked Bayard for permission to refit his vessel for the return voyage.

The activity of the Spanish authorities in behalf of Spanish subjects worried the New York government. Governor Clinton wrote from Albany, in August, concerning the council's action in referring to a committee the matter of condemnation of Spanish mulattoes. He urged the committee "to proceed with the utmost despatch in the matter thus referred to them, that justice may be done without delay, with respect to said Spanish Prisoners reclaimed by this flag of truce (Espinosa's), otherwise the equity of this government would be reflected upon, and ill consequences ensue to every English prisoner that now or hereafter may fall into the enemy's hands." The Governor did not deem it prudent to grant Espinosa's request for a pass to permit Ferrara to proceed to Rhode Island, but was willing to transmit to the Rhode Island authorities demands to be made on any person there and to press the Governor to issue orders that justice should be done. While the Governor was urging haste in the matter of the condemned Spaniards, efforts were made by some masters of privateers to smuggle them out of the province. Watchful and energetic Espinosa learned of their purpose, and charged Captains Thomas Seymour and Thomas Barnes with such inten-

tion. On his complaint an order was granted for the two captains to appear before the council and make explanations.

Espinosa had arrived in the port July 19th, and September 16th he had to petition the colonial authorities for the sum due him, either in cash or provisions, for the transportation and maintenance of the sixty-nine English prisoners brought by him to New York for exchange, having up to that date received nothing. He at the same time, tired of the shilly-shallying, made a formal demand for all the Spanish free negroes and mulattoes, prisoners of war in the province. A few words concerning the manner in which these sixty-nine Englishmen were taken prisoners will indicate the forbearance of the Spaniards. Two vessels from Havana captured the privateer snow "Cruizer," William Clymer, master, of Philadelphia, May 3rd, 1746, and found on board of her, armed, eighteen English sailors who had been taken out of the English sloop "Kingston," Thomas Parker, master. Parker's sloop had been granted a flag of truce by the Governor of Havana to proceed along the Cuban coast to the south of Cape Corrientes to pick up English prisoners and carry them to Jamaica for exchange. In violation of the maritime laws of war Clymer had taken these men from the flag of truce and had enrolled them in his crew. It was these men Espinosa had carried to New York. The council's committee on the condemnation of the Spaniards having concluded its labors, a decree of admiralty was handed down September 29th. It stated that but nine of the mulattoes, Indians and negroes,

claimed by the Governor of Havana were brought into New York, the others into Rhode Island. It was ordered that Anthony De Torres, Fernando Bernal, Anthony Agilar, or Aguilar, and Manuel Cerventes be restored to freedom "upon the purchasers of them being respectively paid their money."

Having finished the repairs to his sloop, and with the Spanish prisoners exchanged for the Englishmen he had taken to New York, Espinosa sailed for Havana in October. He bore a certificate and passport, with the seal of the province affixed, granted him by Governor Clinton. In it the Governor requested all commanders of his Majesty's ships and privateers to grant the sloop protection and safe conduct. Midway between Governor's Island and the Narrows, within the jurisdiction of the New York government, Espinosa's sloop was attacked and captured by the New York privateer "Ranger," John Easom, or Easoner, commander. Espinosa produced the Governor's certificate, but Easom ignored it and took the Spanish sloop into Perth Amboy, New Jersey. Espinosa and his men were made prisoners and the Governor's passport and every other document taken from them by Easom and his men. Easom filed a libel in the Vice-Admiralty Court of New Jersey October 22nd, praying that all the goods on the Spanish vessel be unloaded and everything not necessary for the subsistence of the crew and passengers condemned as a lawful prize. Accordingly everything on board was put ashore at Perth Amboy, and Easom's insinuation that the cargo consisted in part of gun-

powder, shot and munitions of war was proven false. Having found some private property of Espinosa's on board, not necessary for the subsistence of the crew, Easom pressed for its condemnation as a lawful prize. Espinosa appealed to Governor Clinton for aid and protection under his passport, and the Governor, on November 18th, directed Advocate-General Richard Bradley, of the province of New York, to enter and prosecute a claim in the Vice-Admiralty Court on Espinosa's behalf for the libeled goods. The law's quibbles held Espinosa in these parts until late in the spring of 1746, but long before that time the New York authorities had taught Easom that it was a dangerous contempt to ignore a Governor's passport, and Espinosa had obtained from the council a decision that Spanish mulattoes sold as slaves were thenceforth to be treated as prisoners of war.

A skirmish between inhabitants of Albany County and a band of Canadian Indians on the frontier, June 3rd, 1746, caused apprehensions of an invasion from that quarter, and the council advised the Governor to order all the French prisoners of war in New York city to be sent over to Jamaica, Nassau (Long) Island. Three days later Clinton ordered the sheriff of Kings County to take eleven of the prisoners to Flatbush and the sheriff of Queens County to take nine of them to Jamaica, all to be quartered in such houses as the local justices of the peace would deem most convenient.

Among the French prisoners in the city were Charles De Bougie, Judge of Martinico; Anthony Le Moyne, commissary of that island; M.

Sherbeil and M. Duplessis, who had been captured on the high seas and taken into the port by the privateer "Prince Charles." They petitioned the Governor to permit them to take passage on the sloop "William" for Madeira, and their request was granted, with the proviso that they should carry away no letters. The French prisoners were searched and examined September 30th, and every scrap of writing in their possession was seized and sealed. Among the papers was found a list of the vessels in Admiral D'Anville's fleet.

Some idea of the number of prisoners in the city may be formed from the fact that in the latter part of 1746 and beginning of 1747 seven sloops, four brigantines and one snow were appointed flags of truce to carry the Frenchmen and Spaniards to West Indian ports for exchange. The assembly put a very scandalous and embarrassing question to Governor Clinton in 1747, when it asked if he had heard the rumor that he had been "grafting," as it is called in modern parlance, by selling French and Spanish prisoners of war to flag-of-truce vessels for several pistoles a head. He indignantly denied the rumor.

Affidavits made by Bernard Eyraud, surgeon, and Jean Dupuy, second lieutenant, of the French ship "Marguerite," of Bordeaux, indicate the heartlessness and inhumanity of the commissioned pirates, known as privateersmen, who hailed from New York in that day. The two French officers testified that their ship was attacked and captured by the New York privateers "Triton," "Castor" and "Pollux," and

that Eyraud, Dupuy and thirteen others of the crew were put into a small boat, without a compass, somewhere off the island of Cuycos, and left to shift for themselves. After suffering the greatest hardships, three of them were rescued and taken to New York, twelve of the fifteen having succumbed to their sufferings. The New York authorities investigated the case, and the Advocate-General prosecuted Captain Abraham Man of the "Triton," John Burgess of the "Pollux" and the captain, "unknown," says the record, of the "Castor." It is an odd coincidence that one of the two captains who commanded the "Castor" between 1743 and 1748 was John Easom of Espinosa capture notoriety.

A treaty of peace was signed between England, France and Spain April 30th, but even after news of it reached New York, the privateers continued to prey on French and Spanish commerce. Captain John Burgess, of the "Royal Catherine," captured the French privateer "Le Mars," after a sharp fight, six leagues from Sandy Hook, June 4th, and took her crew to the city to swell the French population. The Common Council presented Burgess with the freedom of the city.

In June twenty-five Frenchmen were sent to Canada by way of Crown Point, and a flag of truce was granted to carry off a hundred Spaniards and Frenchmen. A letter from the Duke of Bedford reached the Governor August 9th, announcing the end of hostilities between England, France and Spain. Three French vessels, "Le Marèchal de Saxe," "Le Concorde" and "Le Zèphire," were captured and taken into

New York after peace had been proclaimed. Their masters, Jean Larradi, Joseph Ollier and Pierre le Prince, petitioned to have them returned. Edward Menzies, master of the privateer "Brave Hawk," was heard in opposition to their petition, but the vessels were restored to their masters, but with such conditions that they received them under protest. The prize brig "L'Industrie," Guillaume Chapeliere, master, was also returned. There seems to be sufficient grounds for the belief that Menzies, of the "Brave Hawk," Thomas Randall, of the "Fox," and others who had captured the French ship "L'Amazone," polocca "St. Charles," ship "Le Marèchal de Saxe," ship "Le Concorde" and brigantines "Le Zèphire" and "L'Industrie," and the Spanish schooner "San Vincente Ferrer" knew of the cessation of hostilities when they took the vessels, and it developed during the legal proceedings that an effort was made to bribe the boatswain of the "Marèchal de Saxe" to swear falsely to certain maritime irregularities that would have justified the confiscation of that vessel. Clinton, in the latter part of 1748, liberated between three and four hundred French prisoners of war, sending them home at government expense, and returned to their masters seven prizes captured by privateers.

A distinguished French officer, accompanied by three brother officers and sixteen Frenchmen, Canadians and Indians, arrived in the city and presented his credentials to the council, October 8th. He was Lieutenant Constant de Marchand Des Ligneris, sent by the Marquis de la Galissoniere to negotiate for an exchange of pris-

oners of war. In the letter from the Governor of New France, Galissoniere, to Governor Clinton, he signified his willingness to set at liberty and send into the province all English prisoners in Canada and all Indians belonging to the Six Nations, provided Clinton would release and deliver to him all French captives among the Indians. Des Ligneris, after the negotiations had dragged along for two weeks, wrote to Clinton, begging him to expedite the exchange of prisoners to permit his return to Canada before the winter season made travel difficult. The delay was occasioned by the efforts that were necessary to induce the unwilling Mohawks to liberate their Canadian captives. That Des Ligneris was an official and social success in New York is indicated in a letter written by Clinton to de la Galissonière in October, 1748: "Before I conclude I must do justice to Mr. Desligneire who by his behaviour has gained my esteem, and the esteem of the Gentlemen of this place. It will give me pleasure to hear of any favours you shall bestow on him on that account." Des Ligneris returned to Quebec in the fall with a party of exchanged prisoners, and in December was back in New York with thirty-one liberated Englishmen. He passed the winter in New York and returned to Canada April, 1749. In the fall of that year he was sent to New York again by Governor de la Jonquière with an Abnaki sachem to treat for the exchange of prisoners. He was joined by another Canadian soldier, Lieutenant Alexander le Neuf La Valliere, Sieur de Beaubassin, in the early summer of 1750. Beaubassin had with him twenty-four

English prisoners for exchange. Thirteen other prisoners had become Catholics in Canada and refused to return to New York. Either Des Ligneris or Beaubassin took thirteen exchanged Frenchmen back to Canada.

Lieutenant Des Ligneris performed distinguished services in many parts of what is now the United States. He was engaged in De Ramesay's expedition against New York in 1710, and later was at Michilimackinac. At a conference in Quebec in 1741 he advised Governor de Beauharnois to send an expedition against the Fox tribe, and had a command in the force that operated against the Foxes and Chickasaws, and was stationed for a time at Fort Assumption, where Memphis, Tennessee, now stands. Later he saw service in Acadia. In the spring of 1752 he was commandant at the Ouyatanons, a French post in what is now Indiana, and in July, 1755, with M. Dumas, he commanded the detachment of 800 French, Canadians and Indians that defeated General Braddock in the battle of the Monongahela. He was campaigning on the Ohio at Fort Duquesne in 1757-8, and in the latter year was nearly surprised by the English at Fort Duquesne, but sent out a detachment that defeated and pursued them, killed and wounded between six and seven hundred, and took the commander, four officers and one hundred men prisoners. In November, menaced by a force of 6,000, he removed his artillery, munitions of war and subsistence and, having fired the fort, retired to Fort Machault, at the mouth of French Creek, Pennsylvania. He used every endeavor, in March, 1759, to induce his Indian allies to at-

tack the English, but they besought him to fall back on Presque Isle. In July of that year Pouchot, the commandant at Fort Niagara, ordered him to fall back for the defence of that post. He hurried to Pouchot's assistance, but was defeated, wounded and taken prisoner near Fort Niagara, after a half century of border warfare under the lily-spangled flag.

Don Melchor De Navarette, Governor of St. Augustine, corresponded with the New York provincial government in 1750-1 concerning free Spanish Christian negro and mulatto prisoners of war held in slavery, and in reference to the crew of an English vessel wrecked off the coast of Florida, rescued by a Spanish vessel and sent by him to New York in an English ship. In the following year, 1752, Don Melchor sent to Governor Clinton a list of forty-five Spanish Americans in bondage in New York, and requested their freedom. He also asked for the restoration to its owners of the Spanish schooner "Senorita Del S. Carmen," captured by the privateer "Hester" and condemned after the cessation of hostilities between England and Spain. The various documents issued by the legal department of the New York government are enlightening as to the methods then in vogue to defeat justice. In answer to a summons from Judge Lewis Morris of the Court of Vice-Admiralty to the possessors of all Spanish negroes and mulattoes held in slavery and certified to be freemen by the Spanish Governor, to appear in court with their slaves May 28th, 1752, only four of them were produced. A few others appeared at later sessions of the court, but of the forty-

five many had been carried off in slavery to other provinces. The proceedings dragged along, and another letter from Governor Garcia De Solis in October urged an early settlement of the matters in dispute between the two governments. Attorney General Kempe suggested to Judge Morris that, as the schooner "Del Carmen" was, without doubt, captured and condemned after the date agreed upon for ceasing hostilities, the Court should reverse its sentence of condemnation and return the schooner or her value to the owners, but the judge refused to reverse his decision, and maintained that the only remedy the owners had was to appeal to the courts of Great Britain. It was customary for privateers to be bonded upon granting letters of marque to them, but Kempe was dubious concerning both the sufficiency of penalty and the financial ability of the bondsmen of the brigantine "Hester," therefore the owners of the "Del Carmen" had no redress save an appeal either to "his Majesty in Chancery" or a "Commission of Delegates."

The utter failure of the authorities to carry into effect the decisions of the Court of Vice-Admiralty, granting freedom to the Spanish negroes and mulattoes, and the inability or disinclination of the Court to punish for contempt those who defied its mandates, would indicate collusion between the authorities and the lawless privateersmen who were traffickers in human beings. Robert Troup, the master of the privateer "Hester," carried on so extensive a business in kidnapping and selling these free Spaniards as to require the services of an agent to manage the traffic.

During the court proceedings that ended in declaring Paul Mesquina, a Spanish mulatto, a freeman, Troup sent Mesquina to Albany, in chains, to be sold into slavery. The Governor and council directed Attorney General Kempe to prosecute every one who had any part in the abduction, but he could find no law to fit the case, and Judge Morris decided that he had no authority to fine Troup for contempt.

Juan de Dios de Sozto, or Chiegneto, illegally held in slavery by one Milliner, a butcher, was declared free. He was spirited away from Milliner's house and sold to a Newark, N. J., boatman. Francisco Isquiena, a freeman, taken prisoner of war by Troup on the "Fleur de la Mar," was decoyed by Troup from Fort George, whither he had gone to submit proofs of his being a freeman to the Governor, seized and sold to a tailor in New Brunswick. Edwards, a New York tailor, bought and took him back to New York. Isquiena admitted having told Edwards he was a slave, but pleaded as an excuse for his falsehood that he had been warned of his imprudence in claiming to be a freeman because Edwards would not buy him and take him to New York, where he could appeal to the authorities for freedom, but he would be sent to distant parts, where he could never hope to gain liberty. After serving Edwards faithfully for five years, to reimburse him for the price he had paid, Isquiena appealed to the Court of Vice Admiralty and was declared free. Despite the court's decision, he had to be smuggled on a vessel bound for Cartagena to prevent Edwards from spiriting him out of the Court's jurisdiction. The

condition of affairs is set forth in the report of Attorney General Kempe to Governor Clinton:

"This, Sir, in obedience to your Excellency's Commands, I thought it my duty to acquaint your Excellency with what has been done since my last report towards restoring such of the 45 Spanish Mulattoes and negroes claimed as free subjects by the King of Spain, as have applyed for it, and appear to be entitled to, to their freedom, but how farr the ordinary method of Justice may be effectual to answer this end, I cannot say, whilst people are so hardy as to dare to act in opposition to it, as Troup and Milliner have done, and Edwards threatens to do; and it is to be feared others will act in like manner by their example, if some method be not found to prevent or punish it."

There was a warm controversy in the city in 1753 between the Church party and the dissenters as to whether the newly established King's College (now Columbia) should be a secular or Church of England institution. In the heat of controversy the Catholics did not escape without insult. The following extract from an article by William Livingston in the *Independent Reflector* of March 29th, a publication issued by the advocates of a secular college, indicates that Catholics were still considered outside the pale of society: "Add to all this that in a new Country as ours, it is inconsistent with good Policy to give any religious profession an ascendency over others. The rising Prosperity of Pennsylvania is the Admiration of the Continent and tho' disagreeing from them I should always for political Reasons ex-

clude *Papists* from the common and equal Benefits of Society."

Lieutenant Governor James De Lancey, in a letter to the Lords of Trade, commended the minister, elders and deacons of the Dutch church to their lordships as "loyal people that detest the Pope and the Pretender most cordially."

In America and India, in 1754, France and England were drifting into the great conflict known in history as the Seven Years' War. From the banks of the Ohio and the Canadian border came news of battle, and every French visitor to New York was regarded with suspicion or detained in custody. M. Paco came to town early in March, and, on the authorities learning that he purposed leaving the province suddenly, the sheriff apprehended him, and he was kept in custody and compelled to give a bond for £1,000 not to leave the province without permission. The authorities always feared French dancing masters, and when a letter was received from Governor Lawrence, of Halifax, N. S., in April, warning them that one of that profession, who had recently arrived in the city, was said to be a spy, he was seized, his papers examined, and he was sent to jail, but afterwards confined in his lodgings. He escaped, was captured, and, with a number of other Frenchmen, kept within bounds until July, when they were shipped to Europe or the West Indies, or allowed to proceed to Philadelphia or Boston. A few deserters from the French garrison of Fort Niagara came down to New York, and in December all French subjects were ordered to leave the city.

CHAPTER XVI

IN WHICH ACADIAN EXILES AND FRENCH PRISONERS OF WAR SWELL THE CITY'S POPULATION

THE activity of the French along the St. Lawrence and the Ohio rivers, in 1755, caused warlike preparations in New York. Sir William Pepperel's 51st Regiment was encamped on Governor's Island in June, and in the following month Shirley's 50th Regiment, otherwise known as the "Dirty Half Hundred," was in the city. Both of these regiments contained a number of Catholics.

Braddock's crushing defeat on the Ohio, in July, caused consternation, and shortly after the news reached the city the Reverend Samuel Auchmuty, D.D., preached a sermon in Trinity Church, in which he urged his hearers to draw their swords in defence of country and religion, saying: "Death itsself is far more eligible than slavery and Popery, ye effects of which two dreadful evils will be felt should bad management, temerity or a want of public spirit prevail amongst us." The dismay over Braddock's defeat and death were changed to joy when the tidings of Sir William Johnson's victory over Major General Baron de Dieskau, at Lake George, reached the city.

Governor Sir Charles Hardy, on his way up the river to Albany, September 10th, met a sloop near that city carrying twenty-one French prisoners to New York. Several of them were dangerously wounded and in a pitiable condition. As there was no surgeon on board, he ordered the sloop to return to Albany, put on board needed stores, and obtained a surgeon. The city authorities made provision to care for the prisoners, and they secured the services of Doctor Bard to attend the sick and wounded. The Baron de Dieskau and Lieutenant de Bernier, of the Royal Swedish Regiment, his aide-de-camp, arrived in the city October 14th. Both were wounded, Dieskau having received four wounds, one of them a shot through the hips, injuring the bladder, and Bernier slightly hurt by a splinter. They were quartered in Mrs. Joncourt's, near the harbor, and were moved next day to Charles Arding's, near the Common, "as more convenient." Another French officer, Captain La Coste, was quartered in Mrs. Dimmock's on Broadway. On the arrival of these officers orders were issued to confine the French prisoners more closely. De Bernier, wandering beyond the limits set him by his custodians, was ordered to keep within the Arding house and not to presume to send any letters away until they had been read by the authorities. De Bernier sailed to England on a man-of-war in February, 1756. After his exchange he returned to Canada in February, 1758, as Assistant Commissary of War. Before and after the siege of Quebec in the following year he was in charge of the military hospital, and after the fall of the city the

victors did not ask his surrender. He was the intermediary between the French and English commanders, and won the praises of both armies for his excellent services and his care of the sick and wounded. He reported to the government the capitulation of Canada by M. de Vaudreuil in 1760, and superintended the embarkation of the evacuating French troops. De Bernier returned to France with the Chevalier De Levis on the "Mary," November, 1760.

Baron Dieskau's wounds were slow in healing. He was sent to Boston in 1756, and after a short stay was returned to New York. He sailed for Falmouth, England, in March, 1757. He died in Surenne, France, from the effects of his wounds, September 8th, 1767. Dieskau was a Saxon and a lieutenant colonel of cavalry in the army of Marshal Saxe. After his defeat he seems to have been badly treated by the French government. Braddock and Dieskau, both brave and experienced soldiers in European warfare, were defeated by their entire ignorance of the tactics of American frontier strife. In a a letter to Doctor Cooper, of Kings College, Colonel Babcock wrote shortly after the battle of Lake George: "The Six Nations, had Sir William been defeated, undoubtedly would have joined the Baron—And the City of New York would have been the Baron's Head Quarters."

The tattered uniforms of the prisoners of the Regiments La Reine and Languedoc were no novelty in New York at that day, and soon the quaint costumes of the Acadian peasantry were seen in the city. Governor Lawrence, of Nova Scotia, wrote Governor Sir Charles Hardy, un-

der date August 11th, 1755, that "about thirty families of the settlers in Nova Scotia, taken at the reduction of that part of the province inhabited by the people commonly called neutral French, acquainting his Excellency (Governor Hardy) that the resolution of the Council called on that occasion was that these people should be dispersed among the several provinces and that in consequence thereof he had sent a vessel with that part of the families to this province."

By war and treaty the peninsula of Acadia, or Nova Scotia, as it is now called, had three times passed from France to England, until its final cession to England, in 1713. The inhabitants, after the final cession, had the privilege of leaving within two years, but most of them remained on their farms. They took the oath of fidelity to the British Crown, but their strong Catholic faith and love of France prompted them to refuse the oath of allegiance. They were exempted from bearing arms against their countrymen, and hence were known as neutral French. They were permitted the practice of their religion, and were allowed to choose their own magistrates. The French of Cape Breton kept up a war with the British and incited the Indians to attack their settlements. The blame for this unrest was put upon the Acadians, and, in 1755, having previously begun the colonization of Nova Scotia with English, a wholesale deportation of the Acadians, 18,000 souls, was determined on. They again refused to take the oath of allegiance or to bear arms against the French. The unfortunates were forced to give

up their property, the torch was applied to their homes and crops, and they were crowded pell-mell into ships—in many cases a father sent to Georgia, a mother to Pennsylvania and the children divided between New York and Massachusetts.

The ship with the Acadians arrived in the harbor of New York April 30th, 1756. It had been driven off the coast by winter storms and had reached the island of St. Christopher. Some of the more fortunate of the exiles had found means to escape to one of the French West Indian islands. There remained on board twenty-one families, numbering 151 men, women and children. They were sent to Richmondtown, Staten Island, temporarily, pending their disposal in settlements adjacent to New York. The Governor, by advice of his council, commended to the city authorities the farming out of the boys and girls, separating them, in many cases, from their parents forever. Agents were sent among the Acadians to represent to them the advantage of such a provision for their children, enabling them to learn trades by which they could, in time, support themselves and their families. The adults and children were distributed in the following places: Richmondtown, Staten Island; Flatbush, Bushwick, Jamaica, Newtown, Flushing, Hempstead, Oyster Bay, Huntington, Southold, Easthampton, Southampton, Brookhaven and Smithtown, Long Island; New Rochelle and Rye, Westchester County. Some of the descendants of these exiles, still bearing their French Acadian names, are living in the communities to which their an-

cestors were banished, but they are utterly ignorant of their French Catholic ancestry.

Réné Leblanc, an aged Acadian, who had served the British government in Acadia as a notary public, was one of those landed in New York. He had been seized and hurried on shipboard with his wife and two younger children. Eighteen other children and about 150 grandchildren were scattered among the colonies along the Atlantic seaboard. Leblanc was in infirm health when he landed in New York, but he made his way to Philadelphia. He found there three more of his children, but his sorrows and hardships proved too much for his enfeebled frame, and he died shortly after his arrival. Poor Leblanc had, like his beloved Acadia, suffered from both sides. Some years prior to his deportation he had been captured by the Indian allies of the French, his house had been pillaged, and he had been imprisoned four years in a French fort.

A number of battues, containing seventy-eight Acadians, were beached on the shores of Long Island August 22nd. These Acadians had been sent by Governor Lawrence to Georgia. The Georgians did not want them, and, with a passport, they embarked on their frail craft and voyaged to Carolina.

A home was denied them there, and they were permitted to journey further north. The voyagers were in hopes of reaching Boston, with the ultimate intention of returning to their beloved Acadia. They landed on Long Island, probably to replenish their stores. There their voyage terminated. Governor Hardy ordered that their

boats be seized and the Acadians secured. Hardy distributed them to "the most remote and secure parts" of the province. The local magistrates were instructed to obtain employment for the strangers and their children—59 boys and 49 girls were bound out as apprentices in Westchester and Orange counties.

The lot of these exiles among strangers, who hated their faith and nationality, was so hard that occasionally a little party would brave the terrors of the northern wilderness in the hope of reaching New France. The *New York Mercury* of July 11th, 1757, says: "We hear that a party of French Neutrals, who have been for some Time past at and near Westchester made their Escape from that Place and were taken up near Fort Edward, on their way to Crown Point." When the news of the surrender of Fort William Henry to the French reached the city, August 10th, Lieutenant Governor James De Lancey, who had succeeded Hardy, ordered all the French prisoners and the Acadians to be imprisoned, and three days later orders were issued directing the sheriffs of the counties to jail the prisoners of war and Acadians.

A letter was received from Fort Neck, Long Island, directing attention to the uneasiness caused in that section by the growing intimacy between the Acadians and negro slaves. A rising was feared. In Richmond County the male Acadians only were confined in the jail. At Brooklyn Ferry seventy-eight Acadians were confined in houses transformed into jails. So strict was the scrutiny to which foreign strangers coming to the city were subjected that

the masters of vessels were obliged to notify the government before permitting strangers to go ashore. A M. Dumas, a former French army officer, landed from a vessel arrived from St. Eustatia, in June, 1756, without notification, and took up his abode in Mr. Vallarde's. The sheriff arrested him, and he continued in custody, without being permitted writing materials, until his deportation.

Bad news reached the city in August. The Marquis De Montcalm had captured and destroyed Forts Ontario and Oswego, taken one hundred and twenty cannon, six war vessels, three hundred boats, three chests of money, stores, ammunition and 1,400 prisoners. Lord Loudoun, the Commander-in-Chief, billeted one thousand regulars upon the citizens of New York despite their protests. In the garrison was a battalion of the 60th Royal American Regiment, containing a number of Catholics. A proclamation was issued in September, apprehending and securing all subjects of the French King and confining all strangers unable to give a satisfactory account of themselves.

The Spanish American governors, Don Francisco Caxegal de Vega, of Havana, and Don Alonzo Feruz de Hondia, of St. Augustine, were active in their efforts to restore enslaved subjects of the Spanish King to freedom, and the New York traffickers in human chattels had become more audaciously lawless. Judge Lewis Morris, of the Court of Admiralty, complained to Governor Hardy that, despite the Court's judgment declaring a negro free, one Francis Johnstone, a cooper, had kidnapped him from an

outward-bound flag of truce. In another case the Court had decreed that a Spanish negro should be committed to the custody of the sheriff while his case was pending, because of his owner's threat to send him beyond the Court's jurisdiction.

There were, up to January 5th, 1757, thirty privateers hailing from New York, and fourteen prizes, aggregating in value £100,000, had been taken into the port. The masters of privateers had become so bold that they considered a vessel flying any other flag than the English fair spoil of war, and this indiscriminate plundering brought Master Richard Hadden, of the privateer "Charming Peggy," of New York, and the master of the privateer "Bermuda," from Halifax, into the dock, charged with piracy. The ship "Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe" sailed from Santander, Spain, for Santiago de Cuba, after having been examined and passed by a British war ship. Off the coast of Bermuda she was attacked and captured by Hadden and his Halifax consort and taken into New York, with Philip De La Pedra, her master and part owner, and her crew of seven, prisoners of war. Elated with his success in capturing thus easily the vessel of a friendly power, Hadden sought his fortunes in the same waters and presently took into New York as a prize the Spanish schooner "La Virgen del Rosario y el Santo Cristo de Buen Viage." Hadden had gone too far. The Earl of Holderness, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, forwarded to New York a batch of letters and affidavits from Vice Admiral Townsend and others relating to the

piratical behavior of several privateers fitted up in North America towards the Spaniards in the West Indies, particularly of the "Peggy," of New York, Hadden, master, and a privateer from Halifax, Snooke, or Sleeth, master. Prosecutions were commenced against Hadden, and his sureties and his vessel were detained in port. The Spanish vessels were released with passports, and the "Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe," was granted permission to ship French prisoners to make up a crew. There were two hundred of these French prisoners in the city in June, and the council ordered their distribution in Kings, Queens and Westchester counties, and ordered that they should be subsisted at the public expense.

The number of commissions issued to privateers and the manning of all these vessels had drained the port of seamen, and as the authorities were very anxious to get rid of the constantly increasing number of prisoners, Sheriff John Roberts was directed to permit merchants "to take such French prisoners as they may want to navigate their vessels." In July and August the number of prisoners was reduced by shipping them to French ports on flags of truce and as sailors on merchant vessels. Fifty were delivered by the sheriff of New York at Brooklyn ferry for distribution among the villages in Kings County, and twenty-five were shipped to Brookhaven, Suffolk County, by water, with instructions to quarter them in the different communities if the county jail could not accommodate them. The request of a number of people for permission to employ them was granted.

The privateers "Revenge" and "Hornet" brought into the harbor in September as a prize, the Genoese ship "Immaculate Conception and St. Ignatio de Loiola," Lorenzo Ghiglino, master, flying the Papal flag and bearing a pass from Pope Benedict XIV. There was a strong protest against this seizure, and the British minister, William Pitt, interested himself. In 1758 Ghiglino was permitted to victual for the voyage and, with a number of French prisoners, sailed for Genoa. Prisoners of war continued to arrive by land and sea, and their maintenance became a large item of expense. The assembly embarrassed the provincial government, in January, 1758, by resolving to make no further provision for them. The council advised the Lieutenant-Governor to take measures to send them from New York.

Among the French and Canadian officers prisoners of war in New York, in March, were Captain Jacques Corriveau, Charles Legrand, J. Parent, Cadets de Fontenay, Lachauvignerie and Laplante, Captain Bonneau, Chevalier De Rene, Chevalier Bernard, Lieutenant Jaubert, Larochelle, Sieurs Granet and Permittet. Corriveau, Legrand and Parent engaged themselves with General Abercromby to proceed to Canada and endeavor to secure from Governor Vaudreuil an exchange for Colonel Peter Schuyler and Benjamin Staats, and, if unsuccessful, to return to captivity the following January. This proposal for an exchange was refused by Governor Vaudreuil on the ground that the articles of capitulation of Fort William Henry had restored these officers to liberty. Corriveau had

been a prisoner of the British since the defeat of Dieskau in 1755. Vaudreuil permitted Captain Woodward, a militia officer, to return to New England until Abercromby had reclaimed Corriveau.

There was jubilation in the city in June over the fall of Louisburg. The Spanish sloop "St. Joseph," Louis Parlon, master, was captured by the privateer "George," and after her cargo had been condemned she was released. In June 140 French prisoners, including eight officers, were sent down to the city, and these were joined in July by 125 more, including seven officers. The last batch was shipped to Suffolk County. In July seven French prisoners broke jail and fled north. A hue and cry was raised in the river counties, and the sheriff of Orange County recaptured two of them. They were returned to New York and put in irons. The French prisoners of war in the city were of the Regiments La Reine, La Sarre, Royal Rousillon, Languedoc, Guienne and Berry, with some Canadians and many officers and sailors of French privateers and merchant vessels.

The Lieutenant-Governor, in October, communicated to the council a letter he had received from Governor Stephens, of Rhode Island, relative to a complaint from the Governor of San Domingo against one Shearman, who had broken into and sacrilegiously robbed the church at Porto Plata of its sacred vessels and other treasures. Captain John Gregg, the master of the 16-gun privateer "General Johnson," had taken the plunder from Shearman and carried it, it was supposed, to New York. His excel-

lency of Rhode Island desired his brother of New York to do all in his power to "regain the plate and punish the villany." Many of these commissioned privateers of that day were no whit better than Henry Morgan, Lovell and others who flew the Jolly Roger. For the two years of the war thirty-nine of these licensed buccaneers had taken fifty-eight prizes into the port. The fortunes of war had changed in 1758. In addition to Louisburg, Fort Frontenac had surrendered and, later, Fort Duquesne had fallen into the hands of the British.

It was a serious and expensive matter for a neutral vessel taken by a privateer and carried into New York to endeavor to get out again. Captain Michael Angelo Michele, of the Genoese polacca "St. Joseph," found it so. After having been declared by the authorities at liberty to proceed, he petitioned to be permitted to sell his vessel and cargo to pay the expenses to which he had been subjected.

In August, 730 French prisoners, including the eminent engineer, Captain Pouchot, among the officers, were brought to the city from Fort Niagara, which surrendered July 25th, 1759. The officers were sent to Suffolk County, 200 of the men to New Jersey, 200 to Connecticut, and the others distributed throughout the province. These prisoners were detachments of the regiments of La Sarre, Royal Rousillon, Guienne, Bearn and the Marines.

Non-Catholics, while admiring the zeal and undaunted courage of the Jesuit missionaries, have urged against them that their zeal for the salvation of souls was always equalled by

their political activity to bind the Indians to French interests. A letter of no less distinguished a Protestant prelate than Archbishop Thomas Secker, of Canterbury, to Reverend Doctor Samuel Johnson, President of King's College, September 27th, 1758, may be taken as an indication that he had no sympathy with this objection. Writing concerning Church of England missionaries in America, he said: "I suspect that we ought to have more upon the frontiers; at least when it shall please God to bless us with a peace. For Missionaries there might counteract the artifices of the French Papists; and do considerable service religious and *political* at once, amongst the neighboring Indians; both which points the Society [for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts] hath been heavily charged, on occasion of the present war, with having neglected."

The war fever was high in the city in 1759, even the pulpit urging recruiting. A sermon entitled "The Curse of Cowardice" was printed in pamphlet form and found a ready sale. An extract read: "Ye that love your religion, enlist; for your religion is in danger. Can Protestant Christianity expect quarter from heathen savages and French Papists?"

During this year victory remained with the English. Following the surrender of Niagara, Ticonderoga was abandoned and, September 28th, the British flag supplanted the French over the citadel of Quebec.

General Thomas Gage, the British commander in New York, wrote a letter in June, 1760, that was the first evidence of an improved

condition of feelings towards the "abhorred brood of Jesuits." It was addressed to the Jesuit Father Robert Harding, pastor of St. Joseph's Church, Philadelphia, asking him to send a priest to minister to the Indians of the Illinois.

In September the news reached the city that Vaudreuil had capitulated, and that Montreal and all the French posts in Canada had been surrendered.

The Count de Choiseuil, the French King's lieutenant in San Domingo, with his suite, arrived in the city in September, and he was granted a passport to proceed by packet to Falmouth.

The elders and deacons of the French Protestant Church in New York undertook a task, in 1763, shortly after the signing of the treaty of peace that ceded New France to England, that is still far from accomplishment—the conversion or perversion of the French Canadians. In a petition to Governor Robert Monckton, they asked him to grant the French Church a charter, and continue: "As they flatter themselves that a French Protestant church in this city may invite foreigners of their persuasion to come over and settle here, increase the number of useful inhabitants, and be a means to reclaim the King's Popish subjects in Canada who will visit these parts, from the errors, idolatry and superstitions of the Church of Rome, and thus facilitate their hearty submission to the English government."

Sir William Johnson, writing to the Lords of Trade on the subject of missionaries, in Novem-

ber, 1763, said: "Other Missionaries [Protestant] who have too often used their influence in obtaining grants of land which gives the Indians the most unfavorable opinion of their worldly and interested views. The Mohawks lately told me that they apprehended the reason they had not Clergy as formerly amongst them, was, because they had no more land to spare. The French, who greatly oustripped us in making Proselytes, sent Jesuits and others amongst the Indians, who lived in their Castles, and took care to form them by their immediate example and precept. I fear we shall be unable to procure such persons amongst our Clergy."

Sir James Jay, in a petition to the King, in 1764, asking for a grant of 200,000 acres of land in New York for the endowment of King's College, urged the necessity for a seminary for the education of ministers, and gives among his reasons "the amazing pains which Your Maj^{tys} Popish Enemies were everywhere perceived to take for the propogation of their peculiar Tenents and the many Establishments they were making for that purpose in all the Countrys of America subjected to them ———."

The Marquis de Fenelon, Governor of Martinique, applied to the New York government to permit the Sieur Nadeau de Belair to take 150 of the Acadians to the West Indies, in July, 1764, but Lieutenant Governor Cadwallader Colden refused permission without the King's consent.

An advertisement in the *New York Weekly Gazette,* in 1768, read: "To be sold, three doors below Mr. Leary's livery stable, in Leary Street,

a variety of new saddlery ware by Francis Fothergill." This was the John Leary who traveled to Philadelphia to conform with the Church's law of Easter duty. Scoville, in his "Old Merchants of New York," says: "A man did not dare to say he was a Catholic in those days." John Leary not only said it, but lived it, notwithstanding the popular hatred of his religion. Leary's fellow townsmen evidently honored him by giving his name to a street.

The following year the saintly Father George Hunter, for some years Superior of the Jesuit Missions in Maryland, passed through New York, on his way to Canada. New York had grown since the last visit of a Jesuit. Its closely settled portion had extended to Reade Street on the west side and Catherine Street on the east side. Seventeen churches and a synagogue housed its worshippers. Its citizens were proud of the City Hall in Wall Street, the Province House in the fort, the Royal Exchange in Broad Street, King's College, its imposing stone building in park-like grounds bounded by what are now Church Street, West Broadway, Murray and Barclay streets. The city had its theater on John Street. Its principal hostelries were the Province Arms, the Queen's Head (Fraunce's), the King's Arms, De la Montanye's and Hampden Hall, with the Gentlemen's, the Merchants and the Exchange coffee houses. In the summer pleasure seekers sought the Ranelagh and Vauxhall gardens. The Kennedy mansion, No. 1 Broadway, and the Walton house, Queen's Street, St. George's Square (now Franklin Square), were the best private dwellings. Since

1762 the streets had been lighted by public lamps on lamp-posts.

Father Hunter was born in Northumberland, England, in 1713, and entered the Society of Jesus in 1730. Seventeen years later he was sent to the Maryland Mission, remained in Maryland nine years, and returned to England. Three years later he was again in Maryland. After a short stay in Canada, in 1769, he went to England. Again he was sent to Maryland, and labored there at St. Thomas' Manor, Port Tobacco and Bohemia until he died at St. Thomas Manor, Charles County, August 1st, 1779.

In the province of Ontario to-day are several model communities of Scotch Highland Canadians, staunch Catholics, some of whose ancestors came to America from Glengarry on the invitation of Sir William Johnson in 1773. They suffered hardships, lack of food and ill treatment on the voyage to New York city, and it is recorded that a collection was taken up in Trinity Church for their relief. They journeyed north to the beautiful Mohawk Valley and prospered there until they followed the fortunes of the Tory son of their benefactor, Sir John Johnson, across the border.

ST. ALBERT'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

CHAPTER XVII

CONCERNING SOME CATHOLICS WHO FOUGHT AND LABORED FOR AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE AND OTHERS WHO FOUGHT AGAINST IT

For some years prior to 1765 there were mutterings against English rule because of "internal taxations and duties by authority of parliament." John Morin Scott in that year published an article, over the signature "Freeman," in which he asserted: "The English government cannot long act towards a part of its dominions upon principles diametrically opposed to its own, without losing itsself in the slavery it would impose upon the colonies, or teaching them to throw it off and assert their freedom." The Stamp Act was passed March 22nd, 1765, and October 7th, of that year, seventy-eight delegates, representing all the colonies except Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia, New York being represented by its Committee of Correspondence, met in New York. A petition to the King, to Parliament, and a declaration of rights and grievances were the outcome. The Stamp Act was to become operative November 1st. The mutterings became a storm. In March, 1766, the Stamp Act was repealed, and joy throughout the colonies was unbounded. The quartering of troops on the citizens of New

York was a constant source of trouble, which culminated in a collision between the citizens and some of the Sixteenth Regiment on John Street, between Cliff and William streets. This encounter, in which several were hurt on both sides, is sometimes called the battle of Golden Hill.

The Continental Congress assembled in Philadelphia in September, 1774. The same year, in June, the Quebec Act had been passed in Parliament, and this proved the "last straw," because it introduced into the troubles between England and her colonies the bitterest and most irreconcilable difference of all—religious hatred. The Quebec Act by its provisions enlarged the boundaries of the Catholic province of Quebec as defined in 1764. They were extended on one side to the frontiers of New England, Pennsylvania, New York, the Ohio and the left bank of the Mississippi, and north to the Hudson's Bay territory. The act preserved to the Catholics the rights assured them by the articles of capitulation, including the right of tithes for the support of religion, and relieved them from the operations of the infamous Test Act. French civil procedure and English criminal law and laws of successions to property were to be enforced. A governing council, part Catholic, part Protestant, was provided. The King reserved the right to found all civil and ecclesiastical tribunals.

The passage of this act raised a tremendous storm of protest on both sides of the ocean. King George, it was charged, had "established Popery in Canada." It was the general conviction that this act was the price paid by the Eng-

lish government for Canadian coöperation in the "enslavement of the Protestant colonies." Religious bodies and town meetings throughout the colonies fulminated against it, and the Continental Congress, in an "Address to the People of Great Britain," declared, October 21st, 1774: "That we think the Legislature of Great Britain is not authorized by the Constitution to establish a Religion fraught with sanguinary and impious Tenets," and, further, "Nor can we suppress our astonishment that a British Parliament should ever consent to establish in that country, a Religion that has deluged your Island in blood and dispersed Impiety, Bigotry, Persecution, Murder and Rebellion through every part of the World."

These tirades were for British and home consumption, but the assistance of the Canadians was needed, and within the same month the same Congress, in an "Address to the Inhabitants of Quebec," said: "What is offered to you by the late Act of Parliament—Liberty of Conscience in your Religion? No. God gave it to you and the temporal powers with which you have been and are connected finally stipulated for your enjoyment of it." The following May a letter was addressed to the inhabitants of Quebec, which read, in part: "The enjoyment of your very Religion, on the present system, depends on a Legislature in which you have no Share, and over which you have no Control, and your Priests are exposed to Expulsion, Banishment and Ruin, whenever their Wealth and Possessions furnish sufficient Temptation. . . . We are your friends, not your enemies." Such was the con-

dition of affairs in the colonies on the eve of the Revolutionary War. The anti-Catholic feeling awakened by the Quebec Act was strong in New York city. A folio broadside, issued in March, advising the people to resist British tyranny and uphold their representatives in the Continental Congress, was headed: "No Placemen, Pensioners, Ministerial Hirelings, Popery and Arbitrary Power." In a procession of the "Friends of Freedom" through the streets to attend a meeting in the Exchange, a large Union flag with a blue field was carried, on which was the following inscription: "George III Rex. The Liberties of America. No Popery. The Union of the Colonies. The Measures of the Congress."

New York was at this time rapidly approaching a state of anarchy, and the mob was in the ascendant. The more law-abiding of the republicans held a meeting for the purpose of signing a convention to restore peace in the city and province and to protect them from mob rule. Isaac Low, Chairman of the Committee, a member of the Provincial and Continental Congress, and afterwards an ardent Tory, in the course of his address in opening the proceedings, asserted, it is said, by Thomas Jones, in his "New York in the Revolutionary War," that King George was a Roman Catholic tyrant; that he had broken his coronation oath by establishing the "Popish" religion in Canada, which was shortly to be extended to all the other colonies.

There was a little house in Wall Street to which sometimes, on Sunday mornings, a handful of people would journey. In the troublous

times of 1775, when plotting and counterplotting were continually carried on, these meetings in the little house of Idley, the German, were not remarked, but had it been whispered that a Jesuit priest celebrated Mass therein, there would have been trouble. The priest was the devoted pioneer, Father Farmer, who for many years traveled the sparsely settled regions of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and carried religious consolation to the few scattered Catholics. Unfortunately there are few details of his ministry in New York. Joseph Idley, sexton of St. Peter's Church in 1807, told of the celebration of Mass in his house in Wall Street, and that the windows had to be tightly shuttered to avoid detection. Archbishop Carroll praises the zeal of Father Farmer, and refers to his visits to New York before the Revolutionary War, when the legal punishment was death for priests or Jesuits presuming to set foot in the province. Barbé Marbois, the French minister, in 1784, and Louis Otto, the French Chargé d'Affaires, in 1786, writing to the French government, both say there was a Catholic chapel in New York that was destroyed in the great fire that followed the American evacuation in 1776.

Father Ferdinand Farmer, or Steenmeyer, for he changed his name the better to adapt it to English tongues, was born in South Germany in 1720. He became a Jesuit priest, and was sent to Philadelphia in 1758. He was stationed in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, for six years, from whence he visited the Catholic families of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and entered New York before the Revolutionary War.

In the spring of 1775 hostilities began, and Canada was invaded. Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Chambly, St. John's and Montreal surrendered to the patriots. In October and November detachments of French Canadian and English prisoners of war, women and children as well as soldiers, passed through New York and were sent to Amboy, and thence to Reading, Bristol and Trenton. Among the French Canadians of note who were sent South or to Hartford, Connecticut, were St. Ours, Hervieux Heurimont, de Chambault, la Marque Duchene, Demuraux, Corne de St. Luc, Gaisson, Hertel, de la Magdelaine, Rouville, Gamelon, Ryall, Chartier de Lotbiniere, Tonancour, Fleuromont and Major Regonville, of the King's Legislative Council and an officer of the Corps of Canadian Militia. In December, Regonville, a prisoner in Trenton, applied to Congress for permission to go to Philadelphia "to confess himself to a Priest"; that is, perform his Christmas duty. The request was granted. The Canadian prisoners, with two exceptions, were liberated October 10th, 1776.

The news from Concord and Lexington reached New York city, Sunday, April 23rd, and public feeling became so intense that, May 26th, the detachment of one hundred of the 18th Royal Irish Regiment, Major Isaac Hamilton, commander, with the soldiers' families, embarked on the warship "Asia," lying off the Battery. On the march to the water front many of the men deserted, and the wagons containing stores and baggage were seized by the people. This regiment was one of four recruited in Ireland

during the reign of William III, and contained, originally, according to law, none but Protestants; but England needed fighting men, and the law was relaxed. The regiment was ordered to America in 1767, and detachments were sent to different parts of the country. Father Gibault, known to American Catholics as the "Patriot Priest of the Revolution," reported to Bishop Briand, of Quebec, June 15th, 1769, that he found Catholics in the 18th Royal Irish Regiment, stationed in Kaskaskia, the commandant giving the men every facility to attend to their religious duties.

The Americans who invaded Canada were received with open arms by the people, and their early successes were due in great measure to the assistance given by the Canadians. It was not long before Canadian sentiment changed. There were a number of causes for this: The translation and dissemination of the address of Congress to the people of Great Britain and the letter to the inhabitants of Quebec, which convicted Congress of insincerity and revolted and insulted the French Canadians; the weakness and lack of resources of the invaders and their scurvy treatment of the Canadian clergy and people; but, more far-reaching and powerful than all other agencies in weaning the Canadians from the Americans, was the vigorous hostility of Bishop Jean Oliver Briand, of Quebec. By exhortation, admonitions, public penances, excommunications and suspensions, he drew his clergy back from rebellion and held them loyal to Great Britain. Who shall blame him? On the one hand, English rule had been established for fif-

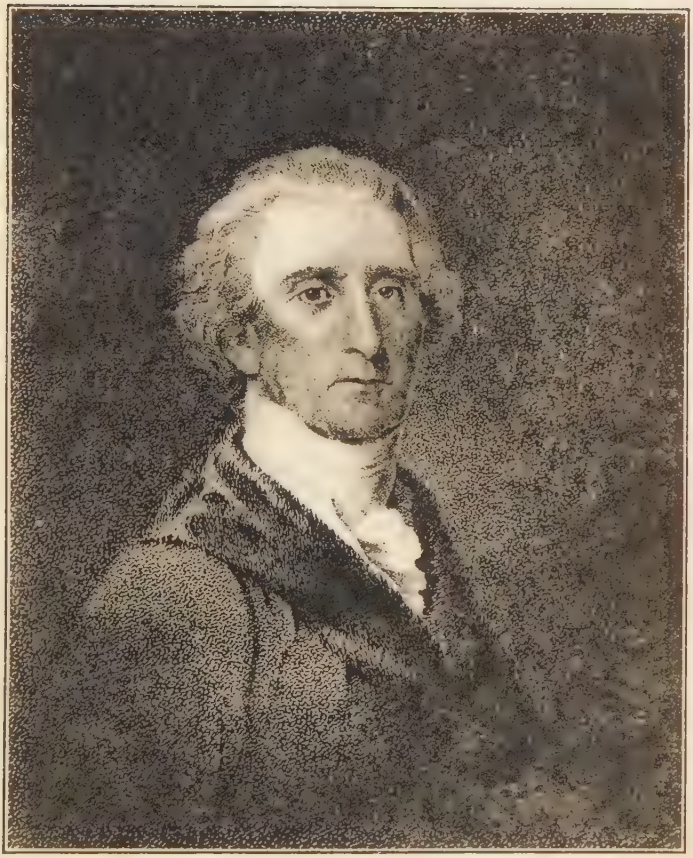
teen years, and every promise made to the Church by the English authorities, at the time of the capitulation, had been faithfully observed. On the other hand, the "perfidious, double-faced Congress," as the Canadians called it, heaped insults on the religion of the Canadians in addressing the British Protestants and offered friendship and liberty of conscience to the Canadians at the same time, whilst every American community raved about "Popish establishment."

The Congress quickly realized the change of sentiment and strove, too late, to avert it. On the last day of 1775, the gallant Montgomery stormed Quebec, and fell in the assault. Congress, February 15th, 1776, resolved "that a committee of three—two of whom to be members of Congress—be appointed to repair to Canada, there to pursue such instructions as shall be given them by that body." Dr. Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Chase and Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, were named, the first two being members. A special resolution requested Charles Carroll "to prevail on Mr. John Carroll to accompany the Committee to Canada to assist them in such matters as they shall think useful." John Carroll, a Marylander by birth and a Jesuit by vocation, was an American patriot in every fiber of his body, and his cousin, Charles Carroll, had no difficulty in prevailing on him to respond to the call of his country. "No greater power of combined wealth, intellect and enthusiasm existed anywhere in America," says a writer, "than the union of the Carrolls and the Jesuits in Maryland in the person of John Carroll."

Born in Upper Marlborough, Maryland, in 1735, he was in the flower of his manhood at this time. He developed a vocation early, but the rigid anti-Catholic laws of his native province prohibiting Catholics from maintaining schools, he was sent to the Jesuit College of St. Omer's, in Flanders, and then to the house at Liège. He surrendered all his property rights to his brothers and sisters before his ordination to the priesthood at Liège, in 1759. For twelve years he was Professor of Moral Philosophy at St. Omer's and Liège. For two years he traveled through Europe as tutor to a son of Lord Stourton, and afterwards was prefect in the college at Bruges, having left France at the time of the expulsion of the Jesuits. The Pope suppressed the Society of Jesus, and Father Carroll and the English-speaking Jesuits retired to England. He was chaplain to Lord Arundel until June, 1774, and then returned to America, arriving in Maryland June 26th.

Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, born in Annapolis, Maryland, was two years younger than his cousin. Charles was educated in the Jesuit colleges at St. Omer's and Rheims, and at the colleges of Louis Le Grand, Bourges and Paris. He studied law in the Middle Temple, London, and returned to Maryland in 1765. In the agitation that culminated in the revolution he was a staunch patriot.

New York city was in possession of an American army commanded by General Charles Lee, when the two Carrolls, Doctor Franklin and Mr. Chase arrived in the city. It was an armed camp, and at every strategic point the army was for-



CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON

tifying. Writing to his mother from Montreal, May 1st, 1776, Father Carroll, referring to New York city, said: "When we came to New York, it was no more the gay, polite place it used to be esteemed, but it was almost a desert, unless for the troops. The people were expecting a bombardment, and had therefore removed themselves and their effects out of town; on the other side, the troops were working at the fortifications with the utmost activity. After spending some disagreeable days at this place, we proceeded by water up to Albany."

The commissioners embarked on a sloop at five o'clock in the afternoon of April 2nd, and sailed up the Hudson to Albany. They saw and heard the sights and sounds of war, according to Charles Carroll's journal, before proceeding far. They had sailed thirteen miles up the river. "About one o'clock in the night," wrote Mr. Carroll, "were awakened by the firing of cannon; heard three great guns distinctly from the 'Asia'; soon saw a great fire, which we presumed to be a house on Bedloe's Island, set on fire by a detachment of our troops. Intelligence had been received that the enemy were throwing up entrenchments on that island, and it had been determined by our generals to drive them off. Dr. Franklin went upon deck, and saw waving flashes of light appearing suddenly and disappearing, which he conjectured to be the fire of musquetry, although he could not hear the report."

Albany was reached on the 7th, after a long and fatiguing journey, its hardships increased by the snow and ice in the northern wilds. The com-

missioners entered Canada April 27th, but they arrived too late. The " fourteenth colony " was lost. There were one hundred and fifty thousand Catholics and three hundred and sixty Protestants in the province of Quebec, the Church had spoken in no uncertain terms, and her children had yielded obedience. The Bishop of Quebec " forbid his clergy to have any intercourse with Father Carroll." Father Pierre Réné Floquet, the only Jesuit in Montreal, had been kind to the Americans, and he was suspended. In his defence, presented to Bishop Briand, he wrote: " One Father Carroll, a missionary from Maryland, having come to Montreal with two members of Congress, presented a letter from Father Farmer, first missionary at Philadelphia. The Seminary saw this letter, which contained nothing objectionable. Nevertheless I did not answer it. Father Carroll did not lodge with me, and dined with me but once. He said Mass in our house by Monsignor Mongolfier's permission."

The Commissioners met at St. John's May 12th. The hardships to which Doctor Franklin had been exposed at his age—seventy years—and the bad prospects of the American cause determined him to return to Congress, and Father Carroll, hopeless of effecting anything with the Canadian clergy, resolved to accompany him. Their progress to Albany was difficult. At that city General Philip Schuyler furnished them with a private coach, in which they continued the journey to New York city. The Jesuit tenderly cared for the old philosopher on the long, tedious ride of 160 miles, and a warm

appreciation and friendship was formed. "As for myself," wrote Doctor Franklin, in New York, May 27th, "I find I grow daily more feeble, and I think I could hardly have got so far but for Mr. Carroll's friendly assistance and tender care of me." Eight years later, while in Passy, France, the following entry was made by Doctor Franklin in his diary: "July 1st, 1784. The Pope's Nuncio called and acquainted me that the Pope had, on my recommendation, appointed Mr. John Carroll superior of the Catholic clergy in America, with many powers of bishop; and that, probably, he would be made bishop, *in partibus*, before the end of the year."

Concerning this mission of Father Carroll to Canada, De Courcy and Shea, in the "History of the Catholic Church in America," say: "In the extraordinary history of the Society of Jesus, the case of this Jesuit, ambassador from a Congress of Republican Protestants, is not the least remarkable episode; and while the democrats of every clime reproach the Children of St. Ignatius with being the tools of despotic power, they can offer Father John Carroll as a sincere patriot, a zealous partisan of liberty, and one of the real founders of American independence."

Washington had assumed command in New York city April 14th, and by the end of the month there were 8,301 officers and men in the city and vicinity, available for duty. The Commander-in-Chief, on his arrival, made his headquarters in a house on Broadway, but the city was unhealthy, and he later removed to the former home of Abraham Mortier, or Motier, the

British paymaster, a fine Colonial mansion later known as "Richmond Hill," now the southwest corner of Varick Street and Charlton Street. There, no doubt, Doctor Franklin and Father Carroll called on him. Charles Carroll's journal, June 9th, reads: "Arrived in New York at one o'clock P.M. Waited on General Washington at Motier's: saw Generals Gates and Putnam, and my old acquaintance and friend, Mr. Moylan. About six in the evening got into General Washington's barge, in company with Lord Sterling, and was rowed around by Staten Island and the Kilns, within two miles of Elizabeth town, where we got by ten at night." Among the first patriots who hurried to join the army before Boston was Stephen Moylan, Charles Carroll's friend, a merchant of Philadelphia, a native of Ireland and a brother of the Catholic Bishop of Cork. He had received a good education in Ireland, had afterwards lived for a time in England, came to America, and, after traveling extensively, settled in Philadelphia. Upon the recommendation of John Dickinson, he was placed in the commissary department. Washington was greatly attracted to the young Irishman, then in his forty-second year, and in March, 1776, he appointed him one of his aides-de-camp. When Mrs. Washington joined the General, Moylan endeared himself still more to his chief by his assiduity in providing for the comfort of Mrs. Washington. About the time that Carroll and Moylan met in New York, the latter, on General Washington's recommendation, was appointed Quartermaster General by Congress, but the

Irish blood in Moylan yearned for the firing line, and in the following October he resigned and organized the 4th Light Dragoons of the Continental service that became famous in fight, song and story as "Moylan's Dragoons." He endured with his regiment the suffering of the terrible winter of 1777-8 at Valley Forge, campaigned along the Hudson River and in Connecticut in 1779, and in the following year accompanied Wayne on the Bull's Ferry expedition and later took part in the southern campaign. He fought to the end of the war and retired with the rank of Brigadier General. Moylan was one of the founders of the Order of the Cincinnati and was the first President of the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick of Philadelphia. After the war he resumed mercantile business in Philadelphia, and was for several years U. S. Commissioner of Loans. He died in Philadelphia in 1811 and was interred in St. Mary's Churchyard.

Another member of General Washington's military household while in New York was Lieutenant Colonel John Fitzgerald, of Alexandria, Virginia. This young Irish Catholic came to Alexandria in 1769 or 1770 and, although an alien in race and creed, seemed to have been admitted to the exclusive social circles of Virginia, and was regarded as a rising business man in the old Virginia city. He first met Washington at a ball, in 1770, given in honor of Washington's election to the House of Burgesses. He conceived an affection for the great Virginian which lasted until his death.

At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War,

Fitzgerald joined Washington at Cambridge, Massachusetts, and was appointed aide-de-camp to the general. While not officially named as a Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief until November, 1776, he assisted his fellow Catholic, Colonel Stephen Moylan, who had been appointed Secretary to Washington, March 15th, 1776.

Fitzgerald was constantly in attendance on his chief until 1782, except when on details for military purposes, and was largely instrumental in unearthing the Conway cabal against Washington. After the war Washington and Fitzgerald maintained their social relations, visiting one another frequently, and were associated in the Potomac Company, a corporation organized to improve the navigation of the Potomac River. Colonel Fitzgerald was elected Mayor of Alexandria in 1787, and in 1798 President Adams appointed him Collector of the Port of Alexandria.

His wife was Jane Digges, daughter of Doctor Digges, of Warburton Manor, on the Maryland side of the Potomac, opposite Mount Vernon, an old Catholic family. Before the erection of a Catholic church in Alexandria, Mass was offered in Colonel Fitzgerald's house. He died in 1800, and was buried in the Catholic cemetery in Alexandria. William Hill Lee, a banker, and John Fitzgerald Lee, a lawyer, both of St. Louis, are his descendants.

Among the many Frenchmen given commissions in the American army by Congress in 1776 a number called on the Commander-in-Chief in the Motier house. Those commis-

sioned in that year were M. Dugan, who served in the Canadian campaign; Chevalier De Saint-Aulaire, a captain in the same campaign; Antoine Felix Vibert, engineer; Colonel Louis Dubois, Lieutenant Colonel Jacques Antoine De Franchessen, Knight of St. Louis; Lieutenant Colonel Saint Martin; Brevet Major Jean Arthur De Vermenet; Fidele Darrè; Brevet Captain Jacques Paul Govert; Brevet Major the Marquis de Malmady; Chevalier Du Plessis Mauduit; Captain Jean Louis Imbert; Major Chrétien De Colerus. Some of these proved to be worthless adventurers, others fought well for the cause of liberty. Among those who were in the city in February and March was Dohicky Arundel, who brought a certificate from the military school at Strasburg and two lieutenants' commissions from the French King. Richard Smith's diary, under date February 5th, 1776, records: "The Foreigner whom Dr. Franklin and St. Clair were to examine as to his Proficiency in the knowledge of Artillery was now recommended to General Schuyler for Preferment, tho' some members, Paine and Sherman in particular, did not approve of employing in our Service Foreign Papists." Arundel was commissioned a Captain of Artillery. This "Foreign Papist" was killed by the bursting of a mortar in the battle of Gwyn's Island, Virginia, July 19th, 1776. Of him General Charles Lee wrote: "His loss is irreparable! He behaved with great spirit and activity, and was so hearty in our cause that he is universally lamented."

Another Frenchman in New York in 1776

was Christophe Pelissier. He was a native of Lyons, France, and in Quebec, in 1767, organized the Company of St. Maurice Iron Works. He was active in the encouragement and aid he gave the invading American army during its occupation of Three Rivers. On the evacuation of that place he went with the Americans to St. John and Ticonderoga and acted as engineer there for a time. Congress commissioned him a Lieutenant-Colonel, and indemnified him for his losses. He shortly afterwards returned to France.

The American forces had been increased in New York during the summer, and early in August there were 17,225 officers and men in the city, only 10,514 of whom were fit for duty. Among the regiments from Pennsylvania there were two in Mifflin's brigade, Heath's division; five in Sterling's brigade, Sullivan's division, and one in Nixon's brigade, Greene's division. One regiment from Maryland, in Sterling's brigade, Sullivan's division. There were a number of Catholics in the Pennsylvania regiments, and the roster of the Maryland regiment contained the names of some of the old Catholic families of Maryland.

The first sail of the British fleet passed Sandy Hook June 29th. War ship and transport came until the lower bay was a forest of masts rising from four hundred transports and thirty-seven men-of-war, carrying an army of thirty-three thousand British regulars and their German allies. General Howe landed 15,000 men at Gravesend Bay August 22d. Five days later the disastrous battle of Long Island began.

The days that followed were busy and trying ones for Quartermaster General Stephen Moylan. His orders were "to impress every kind of water craft from Hell Gate on the Sound to Spuyten Duyvil Creek that could be kept afloat, and that had either sails or oars, and have them all in the east harbor of the city by dark." He did his work well, and thus saved the army from capture and annihilation. In the mist and gloom that followed forty-eight hours of August downpour the last of the Americans reached Manhattan island at four o'clock on the morning of August 30th. The British crossed the East River September 15th, and under fire of the sloops of war drove the Americans from the city, meeting but slight resistance. In the British army that occupied the city were regiments of German auxiliaries that contained some Catholics.

A disastrous fire destroyed an extensive section of the city September 21st. It broke out around Whitehall Street, destroyed houses along parts of Broad, Stone and Beaver Streets and Broadway, extending to the streets on the west side of Broadway as far north as King's College. Trinity and the Lutheran churches were destroyed and St. Paul's narrowly escaped. On the day following the fire St. Paul's pulpit was occupied by the Reverend Thomas Lewis O'Bierne, Secretary and Chaplain to Admiral Richard Howe. O'Beirne was born in Longford, Ireland, in 1748, of a Catholic family of that county. He was educated in the Jesuit College of St. Omer's. Later he renounced the Faith and became a minister of the Church of England.

His many accomplishments, literary ability and eloquence in the pulpit made him a distinguished figure in English society. On his return to Europe he went to Ireland, was later raised to the peerage and made Bishop of Meath.

A convention to adopt a constitution for the State of New York met in New York city, and subsequently in Fishkill, finally, in February, 1777, assembling in Kingston, Ulster County. When the question of religious toleration was introduced for consideration, by the reading of the paragraph declaring "the free toleration of religious profession and worship without discrimination and preference shall forever hereafter be allowed within the State to all mankind," John Jay moved to "except the professors of the religion of the Church of Rome until they should take oath that they verily believed that no Pope, priest or foreign authority hath power to absolve the subjects of the State from allegiance, and unless they renounce the false, wicked and damnable doctrine that the Pope has power to absolve men from sins." After a protracted debate the amendment was rejected by a vote of nineteen to ten, the New York County delegation casting eight votes against the amendment to two votes in its favor. Defeated in this attempt, Jay sought to gain his end by the introduction of several ambiguous amendments, but the watchfulness of Gouverneur Morris prevented the adoption of any amendment that could be construed against his Catholic fellow-citizens. The discussion of the article relating to naturalization afforded Jay another opportunity for a display of bigotry,

and he offered a proviso that all persons should "abjure and renounce all allegiance and subjection to all and every foreign king, prince, potentate and state in all matters ecclesiastic as well as civil." The amendment was defeated.

In the roster of the Anhalt-Zerbst regiment of German auxiliaries, that came to New York in 1777 and was stationed on the Bay Ridge shore of Long Island, appears the name of Chaplain Backer, a Catholic priest—an indication that there were Catholics in that regiment.

In a fight between an English and French frigate in Chesapeake Bay, in February, 1778, the French vessel struck her colors and was taken to New York. The chaplain, the Abbé De la Motte, an Augustinian, was paroled and given liberty within the city's limits. The Catholics, learning of his presence, asked him to celebrate Mass, and he requested permission of the commanding officer, but it was refused. His slight acquaintance with the English language led to his mistaking the refusal for permission. He offered the Mass and was arrested and closely confined in the Provost prison until exchanged in 1779. This prison afterwards became the Hall of Records, demolished in 1903. Pintard says it was reserved "for the most notorious rebels—civil, naval and military. One of the rooms was appropriated to officers and characters of superior rank, and was called Congress Hall. So closely were the prisoners packed that when they lay down at night to rest (when their bones ached) on the hard oak planks, and they wished to turn, it was altogether by word of command 'right,' 'left'—being so wedged

as to form almost a solid mass of human bodies." After the Revolutionary War the Abbé De la Motte ministered for a time to the Catholic Indians of Maine.

Among the thousands of patriots who suffered for their country in the British prison hulks at the Wallabout was Captain John Walsh. John Walsh was born in Dublin, Ireland, in 1743, and came to Philadelphia in 1767. Prior to the Revolutionary War he was a master in the merchant marine, and during the war was commissioned master of the letter-of-marque brigantine " Black Prince," six guns, and the Pennsylvania privateer schooner " Dolphin," six guns. He was twice captured by the British, carried to New York, and confined in the prison ships.

After the war he was in the lumber business in Philadelphia, and contributed liberally to Catholic churches and charities. His wife was a daughter of the patriot Captain Joshua Huddy, who was hanged while a prisoner of war near Sandy Hook, in 1782. Captain Walsh died in Philadelphia, April 24th, 1828.

Led by the stately flagship " Le Languedoc," Count D'Estaing took his fleet inside Sandy Hook, July 11th, 1778. His ships were much more powerful than the English vessels in New York harbor at that time, and it was his desire to attack the enemy, but he was dissuaded from it by the assurances of the pilots that his larger ships drew too much water to safely attempt to pass through the channel. Every ship of the fleet had one or more Catholic chaplains, and one of those on " Le Languedoc " was Father Seraphin

Bandol, who later, as chaplain to Gerard, the first French minister to the United States, conducted a *Te Deum* service in St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia, Sunday, July 4th, 1779, and delivered an address appropriate to the occasion that was later printed by order of Congress. D'Estaing's fleet had entered New York Bay the day following that on which, at Chester, Pennsylvania, Silas Deane and Gerard had landed from France, and Deane had handed to Gerard "the turf and twig" as a token of mutual amity and assistance between the United States and France.

Defeated at Monmouth and exhausted by the hurried march through Pennsylvania and New Jersey in the killing heat of early July, 1778, Clinton's shattered army entered New York city. One of its battalions was known as the Roman Catholic Volunteers. During its stay in these parts this organization was in camp at Yellow Hook, on the south shore of Gowanus Bay, a section now locally known as South Brooklyn. The Roman Catholic Volunteers was formed in Philadelphia by Lord Howe shortly after he captured that city in 1777. Its officers, in 1778, were Lieutenant Colonel Alfred Clifton, Major John Lynch, Captains Kenneth McCulloch, Mathias Hanley, Martin McEvoy, Nicholas Wuregan and John McKinnon.

Lieutenants—Peter Eck, John Connell, Edward Holland, James Hanrahan, Ebenezer Wilson and John O'Neil.

Ensigns — John Grashune, Arthur Bailie, Thomas Quinn and Edward Gadwin.

Quartermaster—John Holland.

Father "Frederick" (?) Farmer's name appears as chaplain. This was evidently intended for the pioneer missionary Father Ferdinand Farmer, who wrote to a clerical friend in London, March 2nd, 1778: "Perhaps it will please you to hear that your British General on arriving here upon my waiting on him, proposed the raising of a regiment of Roman Catholick Volunteers. Mr. Clifton, an English gentleman of an Irish mother, is the Lt. Col. and commanding of it. They desire me to be their Chaplain which embarrasseth me on account of my age and several other reasons." Evidently one of the "several other reasons" that embarrassed Father Farmer was that his sympathies were on the other side, as he took the oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania the following year. Arthur Clifton, the lieutenant colonel commanding the Volunteers, was a well-to-do and prominent Catholic of Philadelphia. Major John Lynch, an intimate friend of Clifton's, was also a Catholic. Clifton succeeded in enlisting 180 rank and file. His battalion in May formed part of an expedition that went up to White Hill, near Bordentown, on the Delaware, and destroyed "twenty-one or more" American vessels, and on the following day was ordered across the Delaware for guard duty. Philadelphia was evacuated by the British June 18th, and in the march to the north Clifton's Battalion was probably attached to Knyphausen's 2nd Corps and took part in the battle of Monmouth. While the Roman Catholic Volunteers were in camp at Yellow Hook the following advertisement ap-

peared in two issues of the *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury:*

"FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF ALL
GENTLEMEN VOLUNTEERS
WHO ARE WILLING TO SERVE HIS MAJESTY'S REGT
OF
ROMAN CATHOLIC VOLUNTEERS
COMMANDED BY
LIEUT. COL. COMMANDANT
ALFRED CLIFTON
DURING THE PRESENT WANTON AND UNNATURAL
REBELLION
AND NO LONGER
THE SUM OF FOUR POUNDS
WILL BE GIVEN ABOVE THE USUAL BOUNTY,
A SUIT OF NEW CLOATHS
And every other necessary to complete a Gentleman Soldier.
Those who are willing to show their attachment to their King and Country by engaging in the above regiment will call at Captain McKinnon, at No. 51, in Cherry — Street, near the Ship Yards, or at Major John Lynch, encamped at Yellow Hook, where they will receive present pay and good quarters.
N. B. Any person bringing a well bodied loyal subject to either of the above places shall receive One Guinea for his trouble.
God Save the King."

Two captains of the Volunteers were before the General Court Martial in New York city, Lieutenant Colonel Ludlow, President, October

26th. Captain John McKinnon was dismissed from his Majesty's service for "ungentlemanly like behavior: 1st, plundering in the Jerseys: secondly by suffering himself to be kicked by Captain McAvoy of the same Corps on a parade without properly resenting it." Captain Martin McAvoy was likewise dismissed "for plundering in ye Jerseys in taking horse and cow & behaving indecently on the parade."

The effort to bring up the numerical strength of the Roman Catholic Volunteers was a failure, as it had dwindled to less than eighty men; discipline was utterly disregarded, and it was merged into Lord Rawdon's Volunteers of Ireland. This regiment contained about 380 Irishmen, nearly all said to be deserters from the Americans. It did service on the banks of the Chesapeake and in Lord Cornwallis' corps in the South. It was in the battles of Camden and Hobkirk Hill. Through casualties and desertions it dwindled until, as the 105th Regiment, it was surrendered at Yorktown.

The French alliance was used by the British and Tories to rekindle religious hatred to the detriment of the patriot cause. Newspaper and pamphlet were filled with ridicule, abuse, threat and warning against the French "Papists." Doggerel under the title "The American Vicar of Bray," published in *Rivington's Gazette*, June 30th, 1779, was a fair sample:

"The French Alliance now came forth,
The Papists flocked in shoals, Sir;
Frizeur Marquises, Valets of birth,
And priests to save your souls, Sir.

Our ' good ally ' with tow'ring wing
Embraced the flattering hope, Sir,
That we would own him for our King,
And then invite the Pope, Sir."

The French alliance " came forth " a little too close for the comfort of the Britons and their German and Tory allies, July 22nd, 1781. A sleepy picket of dragoons at Kingsbridge saw, at daybreak, a sight that amazed and confounded them. On the heights above, as far as the eye could see, were the French and American armies drawn up in line of battle; between Kingsbridge and De Lancey's Mills, the Connecticut regiments and the divisions of Major Generals Lincoln and Howe, the officers clad in the Continental blue and buff, the artillery in blue with red trimmings, the infantry not regularly uniformed save some in white-fringed casaques. Next came the brilliantly appareled French army. The first brigade of Bourbonnais in the spotless white of the French infantry with scarlet lapels, pink collars and white buttons. This regiment, formed in 1595, was officered by the Marquis de Laval, colonel; Vicomte de Rochambeau, second colonel; M. Gilbert de Bressoles, lieutenant colonel, and M. de Gambs, major. The Regiment Soissonnais, their white coats ornamented with red lapels, sky-blue collars and yellow buttons. Their considerate colonel had, because of the excessive heat, equipped his men with roomy linen breeches in place of the regulation snug-fitting breeches and gaiters. The Soissonnais, organized in 1684, had as its officers Colonel Comte de Saint-Maime, Second

Colonel Vicomte de Noailles, Lieutenant Colonel M. d'Anselme, Major M. Despeyron. The Legion of Lauzun, commanded by Armand Louis de Gontaut, Duc de Lauzun and Duc de Biron. This French army was commanded by the Marquis de Chastellux.

The British and allies awoke to a realization of the fact that the upper part of Manhattan Island was threatened by a considerable force, and volleys of musketry and the guns of fort and blockhouse roared defiance to the commanders of the Franco-American army, General Jean Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, Comte de Rochambeau, and General George Washington, as they rode down the lines from Kingsbridge to De Lancey's Mills. Some accounts of the movement say that the generals crossed the Harlem River, but Washington makes no mention of crossing in his official report. The British rushed reënforcements to the defenses on the island, and from far and near hurried troops to New York. The feint of Washington and Rochambeau had succeeded. On the morning of August 19th, the armies facing New York faced to the right about and started on that famous march that culminated in the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown.

CHAPTER XVIII

CONCERNING CATHOLICS AND CATHOLICITY IN NEW YORK DURING THE CLOSING YEARS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The preliminary articles of peace between England and the United States of America reached the latter country in March, 1783, and the 25th of that month Congress issued orders that hostilities should cease. H. M. ship "Sybille," 28 guns, Captain James Vashon, was lying in New York Bay at the time, and one day she was boarded by a stout, jovial-faced man in the garb of a captain of the Continental Navy. The visitor was the distinguished Wexford man, John Barry, known to posterity as the "founder of the American Navy." He had a peculiar interest in the "Sybille." In command of the "Alliance," which was carrying much-needed specie from Havana and convoying the "Duc de Lauzun," he fell in with the "Sybille," March 10th, and a sharp engagement ensued, until the "Sybille" drew off in a shattered condition. A French vessel in sight of the action gave Barry no assistance. The entrance to Delaware Bay was patrolled by British warships, and Barry sailed for Newport. The confirmation of peace arrived, and Barry had the distinction of having fought the last battle of the Revolutionary War.

The call on Captain Vashon was not John Barry's first appearance in New York. He was in the port in command of a merchantman in early September, 1771. The ship "Black Prince" arrived in Philadelphia, from London, October 13th, 1775, and its master, John Barry, heard that Congress had that day resolved to war with England on sea as well as on land. As a beginning two armed cruisers were to be fitted out, and Congress assigned to the enthusiastic young patriot the command of the "Lexington," 14 guns, the first armed vessel commissioned by the Continental Congress. On the southern coast of Ireland, in the County Wexford, are the Baronies of Forth and Bargy, inhabited by a race of sturdy people who, until within two centuries, spoke a dialect of mixed Celtic and Saxon, and who had lived separate and apart from the people surrounding them. They were a thrifty race, and none more prosperous in the country. In the townland of Ballysampson, parish of Tacumshin, in the Barony of Forth, John Barry was born, in 1745. At fifteen years of age he voyaged to Philadelphia. At twenty-one he was master of a vessel, and for nine years he commanded craft sailing to and from the West Indies, Liverpool and London. When a man of thirty, full of enthusiasm and zeal, he accepted a commission from the Continental Congress, he became in heart and soul an American patriot, ready to rise or fall with his adopted country.

Shortly after the opening of hostilities, Congress was flooded with the requests of selfish mercenaries for commissions, but Barry was as pure, unselfish and disinterested a patriot as any native

American who unsheathed his sword in his country's service. In April, 1776, he captured the "Edward," the first prize taken into the port of Philadelphia. A month later, in the "Lexington," he cruised in the lower Delaware, seeking and capturing several of the enemy's ships that were intercepting vessels from France and the West Indies, loaded with supplies for the American forces. He assumed command of the "Effingham," 28 guns, October 18th. The land operations demanding brave and intelligent men, Barry organized a company of volunteers for the operations around Trenton. He was appointed an aide-de-camp by Washingon and assisted in transporting Washington's army across the Delaware River on that eventful Christmas night of 1776. He served as an aide to General Cadwallader, and was appointed Senior Commander of the port of Philadelphia. In October, 1777, he was again in command of the "Effingham," which formed one of a squadron that prevented the British from ascending the Delaware to cooperate with Donop, the Hessian general, in his attack on Red Bank. The British fleet was too powerful to be long opposed, and Barry took his squadron to above Burlington. The instructions of Washington and the Naval Board to Barry to sink his vessels, to prevent their capture by the British, was so bitterly opposed by the fighting Wexford man that he was reported to Congress for "disrespect and ill treatment" of Hopkinson, one of the Board. Summoned before Congress, then in session at York, he was ordered to purge himself of his disrespect.

In the beginning of 1778, Barry made contin-

uous war on the British in the Delaware River. He was the originator of the plan of floating barrels of explosives down the river with the design of destroying the British fleet at Philadelphia. His activity from January to April in capturing and destroying the enemy's ships in the Delaware and forwarding captured stores for the use of Washington's famished army at Valley Forge drew from the Commander-in-Chief a letter, in which he congratulated Barry "on the success which has crowned your gallantry and address in the late attack upon the enemy's ships. There is ample consolation in the degree of glory you have acquired; accept my thanks with my best wishes that a suitable recompense may always attend your bravery."

Barry, cruising off Penobscot Bay, September 26th, in the "Raleigh," was attacked by two British frigates of greatly superior armament, and, after a gallant defence, was forced to run his ship ashore to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy. While in command of the letter-of-marque brig "Delaware," of 12 guns, February, 1779, he captured the British war ship "Harlem" and several merchantmen. A month later he was in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, superintending the construction of the "America," and in October, 1780, was assigned to the command of the "Alliance," the largest and best ship in the Continental Navy, and continued in that command until the close of the war, which found him a commodore, in command of the United States Navy, which had been reduced to a fighting force of two ships.

In the "Alliance" he performed several very

important commissions and, incidentally, captured the "Mars," "Minerva," "Atlanta" and "Trepassy," ending the naval history of the war by his action with the "Sybille."

His adopted country not needing his services, after peace was proclaimed, he returned to the merchant service and voyaged to China. The Algerines were troublesome in 1794, and Barry offered his services to President Washington, and the following year was appointed captain number one of the new naval armament. He superintended the building of the frigate "United States," 44 guns, and in June, 1798, served with distinction in the West Indies in command of an American fleet in the short war with France.

When the organization of the navy was under consideration, Barry suggested the establishment of navy yards and the organization of the Navy Department. He died, senior officer of the Navy, September 13th, 1803, and was interred in St. Mary's Churchyard, Philadelphia.

New York Bay was crowded with war ships and transports in the fall of 1783, gathered to carry home the defeated British and their German allies. Through these a stately French merchantman made her way up the harbor, November 19th. She was the "Coureur l'Europe," the first of a line of first-class packets to sail between the ports of L'Orient, France, and New York. In addition to this ship, the fleet consisted of the "Coureur de l'Amérique," "Coureur de New York," Coureur de l'Orient" and "L'Alligator." The Chevalier d'Abouville, a relative of the commander of Rochambeau's artillery, was the cap-

tain of the "Coureur de l'Amérique." The office of the line was at No. 215 Water Street. Jean Hector St. John de Crêvecoeur, Consul General of France for New York, Connecticut and New Jersey, and destined to take a conspicuous part in the establishment of the first Catholic church in the city, was its agent, and William Seton, related by marriage to one who has made the name world famous in Church annals, was deputy agent. Four days after the arrival of the first French liner, the British flag was torn from the flagstaff at the Battery and the last boatload of redcoats rowed down the bay.

After the departure of the British, the men made illustrious by the war flocked to New York, and, notwithstanding the poverty-stricken condition of the people after the long and costly struggle, the social side of life was not entirely neglected. Cape's, or the City Tavern, a big frame building on the west side of Broadway, between Thames and Cedar streets, was crowded with distinguished soldiers and civilians, December 1st, assembled by invitation of Governor George Clinton, at a dinner in honor of the French minister, M. de la Luzerne. M. Barbé Marbois, the French Chargé d'Affaires, and Father Seraphin Bandol, the chaplain of the French legation, were doubtless present. M. La Luzerne could converse with his host and the guests in their mother tongue, and for this he was indebted to the Jesuit Father Molyneux, who had taught him English in Philadelphia. Washington was at the table, and, during the dinner, a letter from Sir Henry Clinton, then on board the "Ceres," off Staten Island, was handed him, in

which the British commander announced the arrival of the frigate "Asted," with twenty transports, in which he hoped to embark the troops and sail from the bay three days later.

M. François de Barbé Marbois, afterwards Marquis de Marbois, born in Metz, in 1745, came to America with Luzerne in 1779 as Secretary of Legation. When Luzerne returned to France Marbois became Chargé d'Affaires, and held that post for six years, leaving New York in 1785 to become Intendant of Hispaniola. While stationed in Philadelphia he married Miss Moore, the daughter of a distinguished citizen of the Quaker city, the Abbé Bandol officiating in the Legation chapel in the morning, and Parson White performing a like service in the home of the bride's parents in the evening. During the summer of 1785 the couple occupied a summer home on Long Island. Marbois held many important offices under Bonaparte. A daughter, born in New York, was married to the Duke of Plaisance, son of Le Brun, one of Bonaparte's colleagues in the Consulate. Marbois wrote a "History of Louisiana" and the "Treason of Benedict Arnold."

Father Farmer was in the city in 1783, and it must have rejoiced his heart to walk its streets without concealment of his sacred office. The following year, 1784, the infamous law of 1700 against "Popish priests and Jesuits" was repealed by express act of the State Legislature. Father Farmer had extended his ministrations as far as Peekskill-on-the-Hudson. Mass was said by him, when in the city, in 1784, in a house in Water Street and in the Vauxhall Gardens,

on Greenwich Street, between Warren and Chambers streets. He had eighteen communicants. The patriot, Father John Carroll, was appointed Vicar Apostolic, or Superior of the American Missions, June 9th, and ten days later Cardinal Antonelli notified Bishop James Talbot, Vicar Apostolic of the London district, that his jurisdiction over the American-English colonies had been abolished.

The French packet "Coureur de New York," which arrived in the port August 4th, had as a passenger the illustrious patriot, General Marie, Jean, Paul, Roch, Yves, Gilbert Motier, Marquis de Lafayette. The freedom of the city was conferred on the distinguished visitor September 14th. Congress removed to New York city December 23rd, 1784, and the city became the capital of the new-born nation.

The Reverend Charles Whelan, an Irish Capuchin, who was said to have served as chaplain of a vessel in the fleet of Admiral De Grasse, arrived in the city, in October, from Ireland. He acted as chaplain to a Catholic Portuguese merchant, Jose Roiz Silva, until the little band of Catholics invited him to minister to them. Father Whelan had in his possession proper ecclesiastical recommendations, but no approbation from the Congregation of the Propaganda, without which the Superior of the Missions could not grant him faculties. He was authorized to offer Masses, but had no power to hear confessions or celebrate marriages. Relying on his Irish faculties, he both heard confessions and performed marriage ceremonies, despite the protests of Father Farmer, acting as the Superior's vicar.

MOST REVEREND JOHN CARROLL

The following year a rescript from Rome enabled the Superior to regulate Father Whelan's standing. Father Whelan was a good, zealous priest, but a poor preacher, and the few Catholics of New York, through communication with the sects, had adopted their preaching test as proper to apply to the judgment of a priest's fitness. Father Farmer tells Father Carroll of this difficulty in a letter, February 21st, 1785. "Scarce had I arrived there" (in New York), he wrote, "when an Irish Merchant paid me a visit and asked me if Mr. Whelan was settled over them. My answer, as far as I can remember, was that he had only power to perform parochial duties; but if the congregation did not like him, and could better themselves, they were not obliged to keep him. Some days after, another, seeing Mr. Whelan's endeavors to settle himself there, as it were, in spite of them, declared to me he had a mind to apply to the Legislature for a law that no clergyman should be forced upon them, which he thought he could easily obtain. I endeavored to reconcile them by telling Mr. Whelan to make himself agreeable to his countrymen, and by telling these to be contented with what they had at present for fear of worse." In a letter of Father Valinière's to Father Carroll, written December 27th, 1785, he refers to a Father McReady as associated with Father Whelan at that time.

The French Embassy was transferred to New York and located in the McComb Mansion, on Broadway, near Bowling Green. A chapel was fitted up, and the chaplain, probably Father Seraphin Bandol, officiated, for a time, in both

the French and Spanish embassies, but there is no record of his having ministered elsewhere in the city.

Don Diego de Gardoqui had been appointed Encargado de Negocias, practically minister to the United States, by Spain, and his official residence was in the, at that day, imposing Kennedy mansion, No. 1 Broadway. The special object of his mission to the United States was to carry on negotiations with the American government concerning the rights of both nations on the Mississippi River. Don Diego became "exceedingly popular" during his four years' stay in New York.

The founder of a family famous in the annals of New York, Dominick Lynch, with his wife and three children, arrived in the city this year. He was of the firm of Lynch and Stoughton, whose place of business was at 41 and 42 Little Dock Street, now Water Street, between Whitehall Street and Old Slip.

Despite his sixty-five years, most of them years of unremitting toil and hardship, the saintly Father Farmer, fit subject at that time for a sick bed, was in the city in May. He baptized, while in New York, Catherine, the child of William and Wilhelmina Byron. Without consulting the ecclesiastical authorities, Hector St. John de Crêvecoeur, Jose Roiz Silva, James Stewart and Henry Duttin were incorporated by an act of the Legislature, June 10th, under the title "The Trustees of the Roman Catholic Church in the City of New York." Crêvecoeur, who, it will be recalled, was the French Consul General, was born in Caen, Normandy, of a noble family, in

1731. He was educated in England, and came to America in his twenty-third year, and served for a time as an engineer officer in the French army in Canada. He bought a tract of land near New York and married an American. During the Revolutionary War his property was ravaged by both armies. In 1780 his affairs necessitated his presence in Europe, and he obtained permission to enter the British lines to embark in New York city, but the appearance of a French fleet off the coast led to the suspicion that he was a spy, and for three months he was a prisoner in one of the loathsome British prisons in New York. Two prominent merchants became security for him, and, sailing for Dublin, he reached France in 1782. He was appointed French Consul General for New York, New Jersey and Connecticut, and on reaching New York city, in November, 1783, learned that his house had been burned and his property ravaged by savages. His wife had died several weeks before this misfortune, and Crêvecoeur could learn nothing, for some time, of the fate of his children. They had been rescued by an English merchant at great risk and, to the joy of Crêvecoeur, were restored to him unharmed. Crêvecoeur wrote "Letters d'un Cultivateur Americain," published in 1784; "La Culture des pommes de terre" and "Voyage dans la haute Pennsylvanie et dans l'etat de New York," published in Paris in 1801. Crêvecoeur, although instrumental in establishing the first Catholic church in New York, was not regarded as an exemplary Catholic. He was, probably, tainted with that atheism so prevalent in France at that day which made so many

iére, a zealous priest, but a man of erratic character. He had prepared a French and English catechism for his charges, and urged on François de Barbé Marbois, acting French minister, the project of securing aid from the French government to enable him to purchase a disused Protestant church for his congregation, but Barbé Marbois, knowing something about his eccentricities, discouraged the project. Governor Haldimand, of Canada, had written to Lord North in 1783: "The Jesuits are the only order of regular priests who have shown an attachment to the rebels during the course of the war," but the same writer called the Sulpitian Father Pierre Huet de la Valiniére "a perfect rebel in his heart." Father Valiniére was born in Varade, France, January 10th, 1732, and educated at the College of Nantes, the Grand Seminary and Seminary of St. Sulpice. He asked for the Canadian mission, and arrived in Montreal in September, 1754, and was ordained a Sulpitian priest the following year in that city by Bishop Pontbriand. From the time of his ordination until 1779 he seems to have been stationed in many Canadian parishes. Although he protested his innocence of any friendly relations with the invading Americans, in 1775, he was seriously compromised in the opinions of Bishop Briand, Vicar General Montgolfier and General Guy Carleton. The Vicar-General regarded Father Valiniére "as the most guilty and the least converted" of the Canadian priests in their relations with the invaders, and said of him: "He is thoroughly self-willed, and although of good morals, he would infallibly cause us some trouble." At the

time of the Franco-American alliance French Canadian sympathies veered towards the Americans, and such men as Father Valiniére were deemed too dangerous to be at large. Governor Haldimand had him arrested and deported. Held a prisoner for a year on shipboard, he was reported to have died of fever on board the "Lenox," at Cork, Ireland, in 1780. The reported death was incorrect. He was liberated, and, sailing for France, was shipwrecked, losing the little means he possessed. The Sulpitians, his erratic character having preceded him, received him coldly, but gave him shelter in their house at Nantes. He sailed for Martinique, and voyaged from there to Newburyport, Massachusetts, proceeding by foot to Montreal, where he arrived in June, 1785. He was not wanted in Canada, and the Bishop of Quebec gave him a "favorable letter" to the Superior of Missions, Father Carroll. He presented his letter to Father Carroll in Philadelphia, but his request for faculties to minister to the French and Canadians was refused because of the rule of the Propaganda. While in New York, he petitioned Congress for recompense for some losses he had sustained, and asked employment in the western territory. In the fall of 1785 he visited Newburgh, and later was in New York, preaching to the French, whom he assembled in his house. Father Carroll, in a letter to the trustees of St. Peter's Church, January 25th, 1786, in reference to him, wrote: ". . . I must add for M. La Valiniére's credit, that when I declined granting him leave to administer the Sacraments to the Canadian refugees, it was for the reason, because I had no

power to do it. Otherwise I have such a conviction of his many qualities that I should gladly have indulged the wishes of those good people who solicited, and of this I beg to inform him." Louis G. Otto, the French Chargé d'Affaires, wrote to Count Vergennes about the same time: "M. de la Valiniére assembles the French who are in his house. He preaches regularly to them every Sunday, and he assures me he is persuaded that if there were a French church here, it would, without doubt, attract a great number of his countrymen." In February, Father Farmer transmitted to Father Valiniére "powers to perform *parochialia*, without restrictions to the French."

Disappointed in his efforts to secure permission and assistance to purchase the disused Protestant church, Father Valiniére left New York in the spring of 1786, and after a brief rest in Philadelphia, walked to Pittsburgh and, descending the Ohio River in a batteau, made his way to Kaskaskia, where he became pastor and Vicar General. He served at various missions in the western wilderness, but his eccentricities and his propensity to wander prevented his remaining long in one place. In an autobiographical sketch he wrote: "I go wandering throughout all America, through New York and Boston, I travel by every dangerous route, I visit nearly every district. I start again from Pennsylvania and arrive at Fort Pitt. I sail all the way down the Ohio, the Kentucky and the Mississippi, without any sleep, traveling on foot or in a canoe. Five times I cross the Gulf of Mexico and try to return to Canada. Havana, Spanish Florida,

Charlestown [Charleston, S. C.], Stonington and New York offer me nothing new." He obtained, in 1798, the long desired permission to return to Canada, and passed the closing days of his life in the parish of St. Sulpice, subsisting on a pension of £25, granted him by the Seminary. He was injured by falling from a carriage on a stone, and died at St. Sulpice, June 29th, 1806, in his seventy-fourth year.

In a letter to the Reverend Charles Plowden, written by Father Carroll, December 15th, 1785, he said of the Church and pastor in New York: "The congregation in New York, begun by the venerable Mr. Farmer, of Philadelphia, he has now ceded to an Irish Capuchin resident there. The prospect at that place is pleasing on the whole. The Capuchin is a zealous, pious, and, I think, humble man. He is not, indeed, so learned or so good a preacher as I could wish, which mortifies his congregation; as at New York and most other places in America the different sectaries have scarce any other test to judge of a clergyman than his talents for preaching, and our Irish congregation, such as New York, follow the same rule."

It was not long after this letter was written that the prospect in New York ceased to be "pleasing." In their desire for a good preacher, the New Yorkers negotiated with Father Jones, a Franciscan, at Cork, Ireland, but he declined their invitation. Another Franciscan, Father Andrew Nugent, arrived in New York in the latter part of 1785, and the congregation, learning that he was a better preacher than Father Whelan, immediately began an agitation for the

removal of that zealous pastor. In a letter to Father Carroll, March 6th, 1786, Father Farmer said: "What to me is the greatest difficulty in the appointment of Father Nugent, is the arbitrary and ungenerous manner in which he forced Father Whelan to depart, who, though he was not very learned, yet he was ready to ask and take advice, which I believe is not the quality of the former. The second is they who took upon them to be trustees (at least some of them) have the principle that they can choose for themselves whom they please, whether approved by the Superior or not, as I formerly heard they said, and now the fact proves. The principle is of the most pernicious consequences, and must be contradicted."

Despite the disapproval of the spiritual authorities, the negotiations between Father Nugent and the trustees continued, and, April 13th, Father Farmer wrote to the Superior: "The Trustees at New York offered Mr. Nugent, for his yearly salary, three hundred dollars, the Sunday collections included; but he demanded four hundred, upon which they declared to him if he was not satisfied he had liberty to depart and welcome."

Father Nugent, at this time, lived at No. 1 Hunter's Quay. Father John O'Connell, Vicar of the Hospital of Irish Dominicans, at Bilbao, Spain, arrived in New York, May 17th. He had been selected to be chaplain of the Spanish Embassy. The Bishop of Corinth, Papal Nuncio to the Court of Spain, granted him ordinary faculties of a missionary on the King's request. Father O'Connell, the first of the Irish Domin-

ST. PETER'S OLD CHURCH

icans to serve in New York, remained in the city until late in 1789. He did some missionary work among the people.

Notwithstanding the unpleasant relations existing between Superior, pastor and people, November 4th, 1786, was a joyous day for the two hundred Catholics in New York city. On that day, the Feast of St. Charles Borromeo, the church edifice was sufficiently far advanced to hold divine service therein. High Mass was solemnized by Father Andrew Nugent, assisted by the chaplains of the French and Spanish embassies, followed by a sermon. After the services the Spanish minister, Don Diego Gardoqui, entertained, at a dinner in the Embassy, all the men of note in the city.

Louis Stephen Le Couteulx De Caumont and his wife, a niece of General Toussard, a French officer who had served under Lafayette in the Revolutionary War, arrived in the city December 15th. De Caumont went to Pennsylvania the following year, and settled on a tract of two hundred acres he had purchased in Buck's County, in that state. In 1798 he went to Albany, N. Y., and was one of the founders of St. Mary's Church. Removing to Buffalo in 1804, he remained in that city, and died there in 1839. He deeded to Bishop Dubois, in 1828, the site of the first Catholic church in Buffalo.

After twenty-eight years of unremitting labor and hardship in America, the Apostle of Catholicity in New Jersey and New York, Father Farmer, died, in Philadelphia, August 17th, 1786, in his sixty-sixth year.

Father Charles Whelan, the first pastor of St.

Peter's, "a priest of irreproachable life and devoted to his calling," disheartened by his treatment, left New York and retired to his brother's home in Johnstown, N. Y. Later he found a home with the Jesuits in New Town, Maryland. While there he received a call, in 1787, from Father Carroll, to proceed to Kentucky, then a wilderness. He traveled with a party of Catholic colonizers through a savage-infested region to the scene of his labors. Of him Archbishop Martin J. Spalding wrote: "He laboured day and night, preaching, catechizing, administering the sacraments, and making himself 'all to all in order to gain all' to Christ. He was assiduous in the discharge of his duties. He was never known to miss an appointment, no matter how inclement the season or how greatly he had been exhausted by previous labours. Often was he known to swim rivers, even in the dead of winter, in order to reach a distant station on the appointed day. On these occasions the vestments, Missal and ornaments of the altar, which he was compelled to carry with him, were immersed in the water; and he was under the necessity of delaying divine service until they could be dried at the fire." "He preached," wrote Archbishop Spalding, "with a warmth and eloquence not uncommon to his countrymen." His parish was the region west of the Allegheny Mountains and south of the French missions on the Wabash and Mississippi. At the time of his going to Kentucky six of the well-to-do Catholics had bound themselves to pay him, annually, $280 for his support. Shortly after his arrival, two of these men sought to have this written contract set aside

by the court as illegal, but failed. Father Whelan expressed his opinion of their conduct, and, as a consequence, they sued him for slander. The jury brought in a verdict of £500 fine and imprisonment until paid. As he was about to be incarcerated one of his prosecutors offered bail, and it was accepted. Discouraged by this experience, Father Whelan left Kentucky in the spring of 1790, and returned to Maryland, by way of New Orleans. He was stationed on the eastern shore, where he labored zealously in St. Mary's and its outlying stations until his death, March 21st, 1806.

The congregation of St. Peter's, in April, 1787, for the first time, elected its board of trustees, and these trustees were incorporated as "The Trustees for the Roman Catholic Congregation of St. Peter's Church in the City of New York in America."

St. Peter's trustees and congregation were not long in discovering that in Father Andrew Nugent they had a "wolf in sheep's clothing." They appealed to the Very Reverend Prefect Carroll to deliver them from the priest they had forced him to accept. Doctor Carroll had learned that Father Nugent had been suspended in Dublin, and the serious charges made against him by the New Yorkers brought the prefect to New York in October, 1787. The serious condition of affairs there detained him in the city for two months. Father Carroll withdrew Father Nugent's faculties and appointed as pastor the Reverend William O'Brien, a Dominican, who had labored for sixteen years in the Dublin Archdiocese, and had come to America with a letter of

commendation from the Archbishop of that See. Prior to his appointment to St. Peter's, he had done parochial work in Philadelphia and New Jersey. The appointment of Father O'Brien brought matters to a crisis and precipitated a deplorable scandal. Father Nugent refused to surrender his pastorate. The Very Reverend Prefect had entered the sanctuary to begin Mass in St. Peter's, on Sunday, before a large congregation, when Father Nugent interfered, asserted his right to say the parochial Mass, and positively refused to permit Doctor Carroll to officiate until he had promised to make no personal allusion to him in addressing the people. Doctor Carroll refused to make any such agreement and expressed his intention to warn the people of whom they should beware and to whom they should resort for spiritual assistance. Father Nugent, turning to the congregation, gave utterance to a " violent tirade," which produced a most unseemly uproar and confusion.

When he had finished, the Very Reverend Prefect announced that Father Nugent, to whom he had granted only temporary faculties, was suspended from every exercise of the priesthood, and he warned the people against attending any Mass that the silenced priest might attempt to say. Most of the congregation retired quietly from the church, and Doctor Carroll said mass in the private chapel of the Spanish Embassy, No. 1 Broadway. A few remained, and Father Nugent said Mass. Doctor Carroll published an address, the following week, in reply to the declaration of Father Nugent's adherents that the Prefect Apostolic had no authority to suspend

Father Nugent. The trustees, hoping to bar out the suspended priest and his friends, changed the locks on the church doors, and it was arranged that Doctor Carroll should, on the following Sunday, instruct the people on the "nature and source of spiritual authority." The malcontents forced the doors and filled the church with a rabble that raised such an uproar that the Prefect could not be heard, and was forced to withdraw. The chapel of the Spanish Embassy again accommodated the worshipers, the Prefect advising against the desire of the trustees to clear the church of the rabble. The law was then invoked. In treating of the administration of church property, the law provided it was not intended to affect in any way the rights of conscience, or of private judgment, or to make any change whatsoever in the religious constitution or government of any church, congregation or society, in so far as it related to their doctrine, discipline or worship. Father Nugent had not only resisted authority, but had taught in opposition to Catholic doctrine. In the proceedings instituted against him under the foregoing law he was convicted and ousted from St. Peter's. He hired a house, and for a time sacrilegiously said mass for his misguided followers. In 1790 he appealed to the trustees of St. Peter's for aid, and they subscribed an amount sufficient to pay his passage to France on the ship "La Telemaque."

A short time after his appointment, Father William O'Brien, impelled by the pressing need of funds with which to complete St. Peter's, visited Mexico, and his appeal to the Mexican brethren met with a response that should never

be forgotten by New York Catholics. Father O'Brien had been a fellow student of Don Alonzo Nunez de Haro, Archbishop of Mexico, at Bologna. In this Archdiocese Father O'Brien collected $4,920, and received a further donation of $1,000 from the bishop and chapter of Puebla de Los Angeles. He was also presented with several valuable paintings for the adornment of the church.

The Reverend Manasseh Cutler, a Revolutionary patriot, scientist and noted New England divine, records having met at dinner, at General Knox's, Michael Eustace Gaspard, Marquis de Lotbiniére. Of him Mr. Cutler wrote: "No person at the table attracted my attention more than the Marquis Lotbiniére—not on account of his good sense, for if it had not been for his title I should have thought him two-thirds a fool." Mr. Cutler undoubtedly allowed a New England Congregationalist's prejudice against a French Canadian Catholic to warp his judgment. It was not Lotbiniére's title, but his brain, that saved him from being "two-thirds a fool." The Marquis was one of the most distinguished and able military engineers of New France. Born in Canada, in 1723, he embraced the military profession, and at thirty years of age was appointed Engineer of New France. He built Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga) as a barrier to English invasion, and, in 1758, contributed more to the famous victory over the English at Carillon than any other officer. For this and other services he was made a Chevalier of St. Louis and a Marquis. He was a great landowner and one of the few of the Canadian "noblesse" who favored

America in her struggle for independence. He went to France and labored zealously for the colonists, and, in the summer of 1776, was sent by the French government on a secret mission to America. His son, Captain Chartier de Lotbiniére, it will be recalled, a British loyalist, had been captured by the Americans at Chambly, and was a prisoner at Bristol, Pennsylvania. During the war the Marquis wrote letters to Franklin and others, advising them concerning the conduct of military operations. The British government deprived him of some of his domains, and he spent some time in London endeavoring to have his property restored. He died in New York, in 1799, during a yellow fever epidemic.

The State Legislature, in 1787, amended the Charter of 1754, granted to King's College, changed the name to Columbia College, made it non-sectarian, and appointed a board of trustees. What a shock it would be to its anti-Catholic founders to learn that a sufficient number of Catholic students are on its roll at the present day to operate successfully a Catholic student's club.

A young German priest, Father Laurence Graessel, landed in New York from a ship, in October, and proceeded to Philadelphia. He labored with the zeal of an Apostle, covering much of the region traversed by his countryman, Father Farmer. To his dismay, he was selected as first Coadjutor Bishop of Baltimore, in 1793, but the hardship of missionary life in the new world had been too severe for his constitution, and he died before his consecration. The Abbé Seraphin Bandol, after a stay of ten years in Amer-

ica, during most of which he had been chaplain to the French Embassy, sailed for France in 1788.

In January, Eleonore François Elie, Marquis de Moustier, Lieutenant-General, and recently appointed French Minister to the United States, arrived at New York in His Most Christian Majesty's forty-gun ship "D'Aigrette." He was accompanied by his sister, the Marquise de Brehon, her son and several other members of his family. In September the Marquis and Marquise traveled up the Hudson and across country to Fort Stanwix to attend a treaty making between the Indian tribes and a State Commission, headed by Governor Clinton, for a cession of territory by the Indians, extending from Fort Stanwix to the Great Lakes. Of the Marquise, Elkanah Watson says: "This enterprising and courageous lady had exposed herself to the greatest fatigues and privations, to gratify her unbounded curiosity, by coming all the way from the City of New York, to witness the great and unusual assemblage of savage tribes." De Moustier and his sister were the guests of General Washington at Mount Vernon in November, and while there the Marquise painted a miniature of Washington that was engraved in France. That the Moustiers were not at all popular in New York is manifest from the correspondence of the day. Mrs. William A. Smith, a daughter of John Adams, met the French Minister and his sister. Of De Moustier she wrote: "The French Minister is a handsome and apparently polite man; the Marchioness, his sister, the oddest figure eyes ever beheld; in short, there is so much

said of and about her, and so little of truth can be known, that I cannot pretend to form any judgment. . . . She speaks English a little, is very much out of health, and was taken ill at Mrs. Jay's before we went to dinner, and obliged to go home." John Armstrong wrote concerning her: "We have a French minister now with us, and if France had wished to destroy the little remembrance that is left of her and of her exertions in our behalf, she would have sent just such a minister; distant, haughty, penurious and entirely governed by the caprices of a singular, whimsical, hysterical old woman, whose delight is playing with a negro child and caressing a monkey."

De Moustier was possessed of a considerable fortune, and, if "penurious," was fond of display. None of the foreign ministers entertained more frequently or lavishly. Brissot de Warville, who was in New York at the time, said that he had heard De Moustier boast that he had told President Griffin, of Congress, that "he was but a tavern-keeper, and the Americans had the complacency not to demand his recall." The contempt of De Moustier for Americans was fully equaled by their contempt for him. He was born in Paris thirty-seven years before his arrival in New York. Carefully educated in things military and scientific, he was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to England in 1783, returning to France in 1789. He served as Ambassador to Prussia and Minister to Constantinople. During the French revolution he labored in France for the Bourbons, and some of his letters, falling into the hands of the Jacobins,

were used in the accusations against Louis XVI. After a sojourn in England he returned to Paris, and in 1806 was driven from France by Bonaparte. He shared the fortunes of Louis XVIII in England, and, returning to France, died in his country house, near Versailles, in 1817.

FEDERAL HALL (WALL AND NASSAU STREETS)

CHAPTER XIX

CONCERNING CATHOLICS AND CATHOLICITY IN THE CITY FROM THE DAWN OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY UNTIL THE ERECTION OF THE CITY INTO AN EPISCOPAL SEE

The roar of thirteen guns, fired in the fort at the Battery, at sunset, March 3rd, 1789, announced to all within hearing that the old Confederation of States was at an end, and next morning eleven guns, in honor of the States that adopted the Constitution, ushered in the new era. The following day there were more salutes, and at intervals the city's bells rang out glad peals, for on that day the Congress was to convene in the remodeled Federal Hall. When noon, the hour for opening the session, arrived, there were but eight Senators and thirteen Representatives present. Not until April 1st was there a quorum of the House present.

The Capital of the United States had overcome the effects of the great fires of 1776 and 1778 and the ravages of seven years' British military occupation. The population was estimated to be about 29,000, and there were 4,200 houses. Land was not scarce on Manhattan Island in those days, and many of the dwellings were detached and surrounded by gardens. West of Broadway to the river and north to Reade Street

was thickly populated, but beyond Reade Street the only important structures were the hospital and the Congregational meeting-house on Broadway below the line of what is now Leonard Street. On the east side Bayard's Lane, now Broome Street, was the line that separated city from country. There were still many of the lofty peaked-roof Dutch houses, gable ends to the street, but the houses were mostly of the English style of architecture, either all brick with tiled roof or brick fronts with frame sides and rear. New streets had been laid out and old ones widened and improved. Abraham Van Gelder received £33 a month for lighting and cleaning the street lamps, but there were frequent complaints of faulty illumination. The Park, triangular in shape and enclosed with a wooden fence, was bounded by Great George Street, as Broadway north of St. Paul's Chapel was called, Park Row, Vesey, and about on a line with Murray Street. At its northern end stood the Bridewell Almshouse and Jail, facing south, and north of these the Upper Barracks. Broadway was paved from Bowling Green to Vesey Street, but was badly graded. Its principal buildings were Trinity Church, St. Paul's Chapel, the City Tavern, the town's principal hostelry, the Kennedy Mansion, No. 1 Broadway, occupied by the Spanish Minister, Don Diego de Gardoqui. Opposite was the French Legation, in the McComb Mansion. Bowling Green had been enclosed as a park in 1733, and near its lower end stood the foundation of the statue of George III, demolished in 1776. Further south were the dilapidated fort and the Battery. East of Broadway, north to

Wall Street, had been swept by the fire of 1776, and the cheap frame structures erected afterwards were now giving way to a fine class of buildings. Such was the city at the time of the inauguration of President Washington.

The Catholics had been increasing steadily in numbers, and the session of Congress and inauguration had called many notable Catholics from various parts of the country to the capital.

Dominick Lynch, a native of Galway, was thirty-one years of age when he arrived in New York, in the summer of 1785. His ancestors were popular men in their native town, eighty-four of them having served as Mayors. He received an excellent education. Five years before coming to America, Dominick Lynch had married his cousin, Jane Lynch, in Dublin. Shortly after his marriage he opened a branch of his father's business in Bruges, Flanders, and in the purchase and shipment of flax seed to Ireland and the opportunities for trade afforded by the wars between England and France, Spain and the American colonies, amassed a fortune. He met in Bruges Don Thomas Stoughton, a merchant with important business connections in France and Spain, and they entered into a partnership agreement to open a commercial house in New York, under the management of Don Thomas, he putting in £2,500 and Mr. Lynch £5,000. Don Thomas, on his arrival in New York, in 1783, launched the firm of Lynch & Stoughton. Two years later Mr. Lynch followed him to the city, and both occupied the upper part of No. 41-42 Little Dock Street as a dwelling. There was mutual dissatisfaction, and

the firm dissolved in 1795. Suits resulted that, after pending for twenty years, were decided adversely to Mr. Lynch, who had to pay his former partner $25,076, with costs and expenses. From the time of his arrival in New York, Mr. Lynch had manifested activity and zeal in the welfare of Catholicity in the city and country. He was one of the incorporators and trustees when the original charter of St. Peter's was amended in 1787. He was designated by the Very Reverend Prefect Carroll to receive the subscriptions of New Yorkers towards the establishment of the Academy at Georgetown, that has since become Georgetown University, and he was one of the illustrious Catholic citizens to sign the address of congratulation of the Catholics to President Washington in 1790. Mr. Lynch invested capital in the China trade, in bank stocks and other securities and in real estate. He refused an offer of a farm of twenty acres not far from the City Hall, and invested the amount asked, £2,250, in a tract of 697 acres adjoining Fort Stanwix, on the Mohawk River, in 1786. He afterwards increased this into a domain of 2,000 acres, had it surveyed and divided into lots in 1796, and named it Lynchville, but prior to 1800 changed it to its present name—Rome. He built a country residence for his occupancy when business or pleasure called him to his estate. Mr. Lynch died, in June, 1825, in a spacious stone mansion, in Westchester County, on the shores of Long Island Sound, that he had erected on an estate purchased by him in 1797. His town residence, after 1799, had been No. 16 Broadway. His family consisted of thirteen

children, who were carefully reared in the Catholic faith, but, through intermarriage with non-Catholics, most of their descendants were lost to the Catholic fold. Mrs. Lynch, who lived until 1849, was very prominent in the city's social circles, and was among the first to pay her respects to the wife of President Washington on the arrival, in New York, of the first lady of the land.

Don Thomas Stoughton, Mr. Lynch's one-time partner, was appointed Spanish Consul for New York in 1794, his father, Don Juan Stoughton, holding a like office for New England. After the dissolution of his partnership with Mr. Lynch, he occupied No. 24 Greenwich Street for his business, consulate and home. His son James, who was unmarried, was Spanish Vice-Consul, and lived with his father. He was a native of New York, had been educated in the city, and had his law office at No. 19 Wall Street. The untimely death of this very promising and popular young man cast a shadow over his father's declining years. As Spanish Vice-Consul, James Stoughton had caused the arrest and imprisonment of Robert M. Gooding, the master of a privateer, on a charge of piracy, for capturing neutral Spanish vessels and selling them. Stoughton and Gooding met on Broadway, December 21st, 1819, and during an altercation Gooding stabbed Stoughton mortally. The murdered man was in his twenty-third year at the time of his death. The trial of Gooding, one of the most celebrated murder trials in the annals of New York criminal practice, resulted in the acquittal of the accused. Don Thomas never re-

covered from the blow, and died in 1826. His second son, Francisco, succeeded him as Spanish Consul. Of Don Thomas the *Truth Teller*, of March 25th, 1826, said: "Died—On Monday evening last, in the 78th year of his age, Hon. Thomas Stoughton, his Catholic Majesty's Consul for the State of New York. The deceased was one of our most ancient and respected inhabitants; few men have been more universally esteemed, and the numerous friends he has left to lament his loss bear ample testimony of the singular obligingness of his character and to the generous and noble qualities of his heart. He received the rights of the Church with sentiments of piety, and manifested during his illness the most exemplary resignation to the divine will."

A Catholic neighbor of Lynch & Stoughton, living in No. 56 Little Dock Street, was Thomas Lloyd, a soldier of the Revolutionary War, and, in 1789, the official reporter of the House of Representatives. He published in that year, in Philadelphia, a reprint from the London edition of "The Unerring Authority of the Catholic Church in Matters of Faith." Lloyd was born in London, England, August 14th, 1756. He was educated in the Jesuit College of St. Omer's, in Flanders, and two of its professors, during his student days, were afterwards Archbishops of Baltimore—John Carroll and Leonard Neale. He remained in St. Omer's for seven years and learned there a system of shorthand. Acting on Father Neale's advice, Lloyd came to America and settled in St. Mary's County, Maryland. In later years he said of his education in St. Omer's, that he had "been trained not only in

religious and secular knowledge, but in republican principles." At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, Lloyd, then nineteen, enlisted in the Independent Company of St. Mary's County, was chosen Third-Lieutenant, and served until the company was disbanded in New Jersey, December 1st, 1776. He then joined the Third Maryland Regiment as ensign and, September 11th, 1777, was shot, bayonetted and taken prisoner at the battle of the Brandywine. The wounded prisoners were exchanged, and Lloyd was sent to Lancaster, Pennsylvania. On recovering from his wounds he was assigned to the Quartermaster's Department, with the rank of captain, and later went to England, by way of France, on a secret mission, it is supposed. He had met Mary Carson, a Presbyterian, in Lancaster, and on his return they were married, at Lancaster, October 2nd, 1780. When Congress established the Finance Department, Lloyd was appointed secretary to Michael Hillegas, Treasurer of the United States, and retained that position until after peace was declared. The year before he came to New York, he reported the proceedings of the Pennsylvania House of Assembly for the *Pennsylvania Packet*, the first stenographic newspaper reporting in Philadelphia. He published "The Congressional Register, or History of the Proceedings and Debates of the First House of Representatives in the United States of America," in four volumes, and "The Acts Passed at a Congress of the United States Begun and Held at the City of New York on Wednesday, the 4th of March, in the Year 1789," and also the acts of the sessions of 1790.

When Congress removed the capital to Philadelphia, Lloyd reported the proceedings of the House until 1791, when he and his wife went to England to look after the landed interests he had there. While in London he was arrested for debt and imprisoned in the Fleet. Captain Patrick Duffin, a fellow prisoner, vented his republicanism in a placard posted in the prison. Lloyd was accused as an accessory. Both were charged with sedition, found guilty, and Lloyd's sentence was one hour in the pillory, three years in Newgate jail, and $500 bonds for good behavior for five years. He served his sentence, and, returning to Philadelphia, obtained his old place as reporter to Congress. Later he was employed as secretary to a commission and as reporter to the Pennsylvania House of Representatives. Mrs. Lloyd had become a Catholic, and all their children were reared, lived and died in the Catholic faith. Thomas Lloyd, "the Father of American Shorthand," died in Philadelphia, January 19th, 1827, and his dust rests in St. Augustine's burial ground in that city.

At No. 23 Nassau Street lived William Mooney, an upholsterer, an active member of St. Peter's Church from its inception, and the founder and first Grand Sachem of the Tammany Society, or Columbian Order, which he organized this year. Other prominent benefactors of St. Peter's at this date were: Jose Roiz Silva, merchant, No. 1 Beekman Street; James Stewart; Andrew Morris, chandler, No. 48 Great Dock Street; Gibbon Burke, grocer, No. 161 Water Street; Charles Naylor, merchant, No. 48 William Street; George Barnwell,

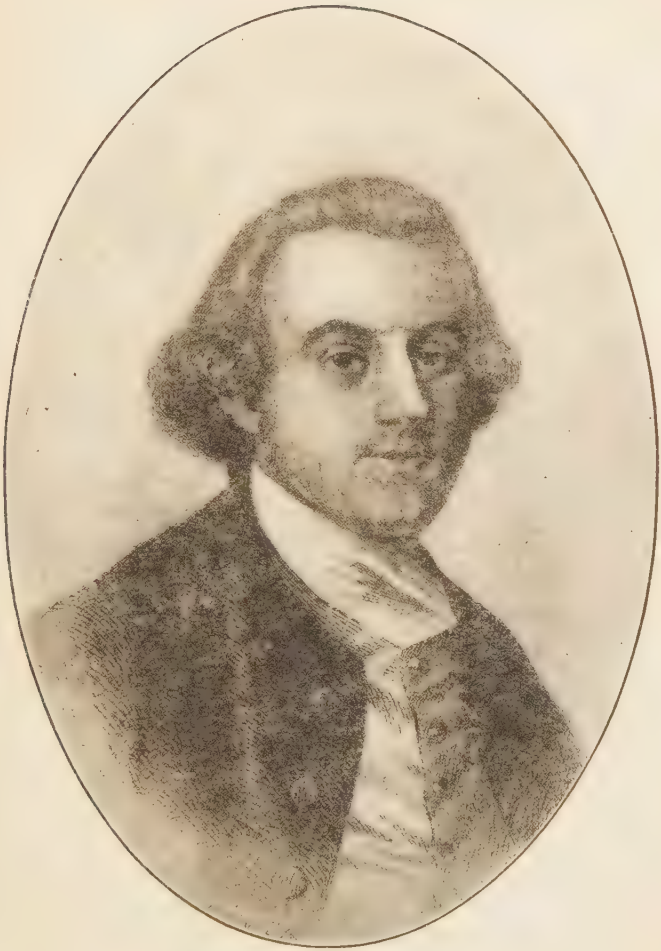
merchant, No. 205 Water Street, and John Sullivan, grocer, Moore Street.

The grandest building in New York, and, it was asserted, in the country, was Federal Hall, northeast corner of Wall and Nassau streets, transformed from the City Hall, in which, it will be recalled, were held the trials of the negroes implicated in the so-called negro plot, into a Capitol to house the two bodies of the Congress of the United States. The Continental Congress had held some sessions therein in 1785, but the building, after eighty-five years of service, was dilapidated, and it was resolved to reconstruct it within and without. The Common Council entrusted the work of remodeling the building to Major Pierre Charles L'Enfant, a French officer and a Catholic, who had come to the assistance of the struggling colonies with Lafayette in 1777. When his work was finished, at an outlay of $65,000, the Common Council conferred on him the freedom of the city and offered him ten acres of the common lands located on what is now the east side of Third Avenue, between Sixty-eighth and Sixty-ninth streets. He declined to accept the land, and, in 1801, petitioned for a sum of money, but refused with scorn the $750 offered him. L'Enfant was a genius, but eccentric and irascible. He was born in France, in 1755, and was but twenty-two when he came to America and was commissioned a captain. He was dangerously wounded at Savannah in 1779, and was promoted Major in 1783. Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, January 29th, 1791, asked Major L'Enfant to make such drafts of the ground in the survey for the Federal City

(Washington) as would enable President Washington "to fix the spot" for the various public buildings and determine the location of reservations. L'Enfant drew elaborate plans for the capital, but about a month later was dismissed from the public employ for refusing to obey the orders issued by the Commissioners. He was succeeded by James Reed Dermott, whose adaptations of L'Enfant's plans were adopted. L'Enfant was the designer of the medal of the Order of the Cincinnati, and received a vote of thanks of the Trinity Corporation for his design of a symbolical scene on Mount Sinai that was placed over the altar in St. Paul's Chapel. He was the architect of a magnificent residence for Robert Morris in Philadelphia, in which, before it was finished, Morris sunk a fortune. L'Enfant died, in Prince George's County, Maryland, June 14th, 1825.

Among the Congressmen who assembled in the city were the following Catholics: Senator Charles Carroll, of Maryland, who made his home in No. 52 Smith Street, as William Street below Maiden Lane was called; Representatives Thomas Fitz Simons, of Pennsylvania, at Mr. Anderson's, in Pearl Street; Daniel Carroll, of Maryland, with his cousin, Charles Carroll, in No. 52 Smith Street, and Judge Aedanus Burke, of South Carolina, in Mr. Hick's, Wall Street, corner of William Street.

Daniel Carroll was a native of Maryland, a member of the Continental Congress and a delegate to the convention that framed the Constitution of the United States. He served as a representative in Congress in 1789-91, and was one of



DANIEL CARROLL

the commissioners appointed by Congress to survey the District of Columbia. His farm covered considerable of the ground now included in the city of Washington. He died, in Washington, in 1829, at an advanced age.

Of the founders of the Republic, Thomas Fitz Simons is one of the least known to posterity, yet few played a more important part in forming the economic policies of the infant Republic. A native of Ireland, he came to Philadelphia with his father prior to 1758. He married Catherine, sister of George Meade, a merchant of Philadelphia, and a Catholic, in 1763.

The patriots of Philadelphia met at the City Tavern, May 20th, 1774, to consider the state of affairs resulting from Parliament's oppressive enactments, and Thomas Fitz Simons was one of a Committee of Correspondence to call a general meeting of citizens. He was a convener of the Continental Congress that assembled in Philadelphia, September 4th, 1774. When the news from Lexington fired the blood of the Pennsylvanians, an association of patriots, known as the Associators, became an armed militia. Fitz Simons organized a company, which was assigned to the Third Battalion under Colonel Cadwalader. During the fall and winter of the trying year 1776-7 he and his company did duty in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Fitz Simons, who was a member of the extensive ship-owning firm of George Meade & Co., and, therefore, well-equipped for the work, was appointed a member of the Naval Board by the Supreme Executive Council, in March, 1777. Fitz Simons and Meade were the owners of nine privateers that,

later in the war, preyed on the British. He was at one time owner of the ship "Hyder Alley," that captured H. M. ship "General Monk" in sight of a British frigate. "This action has been deemed," wrote James Fenimore Cooper, "one of the most brilliant that ever occurred under the American flag."

In 1779, Fitz Simons became a member of the Republican Society, an organization formed for the purpose of securing the adoption of certain amendments to the Constitution of 1776. In 1780, during the darkest days of the war, the Bank of Pennsylvania was organized to supply the patriot army with provisions for two months. "Each subscriber gave bond to the Directors," says Martin I. J. Griffin, "to pay their subscription in specie in case it was demanded to meet the bank's engagements. The subscriptions amounted to £315,000 in notes on interest. Directors to borrow money on credit of Bank for 6 months or less at 6 per cent. and to receive from Congress sums appropriated. All money to be used to purchase provisions and expenses of transportation." George Meade & Co. subscribed £2,000. The subscription was timely because needed, patriotic because of the critical period at which it was tendered, but, withal, a business venture.

Alexander Hamilton has left testimony of the valuable assistance given him by Thomas Fitz Simons in establishing the financial policy of the United States government. He was elected to the Congress of the Confederacy, November 12th, 1782. His home became the social gathering place of his fellow Congressmen, and here he

discussed with Hamilton, Madison, Carroll and others the laws proposed for the government of the Confederacy. With Hamilton and Madison he was placed on a committee of the Congress to reply to a letter from Rhode Island, assigning reasons for not complying with the laws of Congress relative to import duties and prize goods. An outcome of that committee's labors was the policy of protection for infant American industries. The Constitution of Pennsylvania provided that " in order to keep inviolate forever the freedom of the Commonwealth, Censors should be annually chosen." At the general election of 1783, Fitz Simons was chosen a member of the Council of Censors. An ardent advocate of the election of General Arthur St. Clair to the Governorship of Pennsylvania, it was suggested to him that he might damage his own political prospects by promoting the fortunes of one who might be defeated. His answer was an indication of the man's character: " I conceive it to be a duty to contend for what is right, be the issue as it may."

With Charles and Daniel Carroll and Dominick Lynch, Mr. Fitz Simons signed the address of the American Catholics to Washington after his election to the Presidency. George Meade and Thomas Fitz Simons dissolved partnership in 1784, and Mr. Fitz Simons opened a place of business on Walnut Street Wharf. He was elected to the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1785 and 1786, and was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention that assembled May 25th, 1787. In that convention Fitz Simons, an ardent Federalist, voted against universal suffrage and

favored limiting the suffrage to freeholders. He advocated giving Congress the power to tax both exports and imports, and voted to make the action of both branches of Congress necessary to ratify treaties. With the adoption of the Constitution Fitz Simons was elected a member of the first Congress, and was re-elected to the second and third. His abilities demanded recognition and received it, as indicated by his appointment to the most important committees. In the first Congress he was on the Committee of Ways and Means, on a committee to draft an act "for regulating the collecting imports and tonnage," on a committee to fix the compensation of the President, Vice-President, Senators and members of the House of Representatives, and was chairman of a committee to prepare an act providing a government for the northwest territory. In later sessions he was chairman of a committee to provide for a settlement of accounts between the Federal government and the States, chairman of a committee to ascertain "how far the owners of ships shall be liable to freighters of goods shipped on board," and chairman of a committee to prepare a bill empowering the collector of the port of Philadelphia to permit the landing of merchandise at other places than that city when navigation was obstructed by ice. He was a member of a committee to which was referred a message from President Washington treating of points of reciprocal commercial advantages between the United States and Great Britain, and one of another committee of three to draft an act supplementary to the act re-establishing a Treasury Department.

Madison and Webster "regarded it as important historical evidence that Thomas Fitz Simons was the first to suggest as the clear duty of Congress and so laying of imports as to encourage manufacturers."

The foregoing list of important committees on which Mr. Fitz Simons served warrants the assertion that no man was more closely identified with framing the laws regulating the revenue, commerce and finances of the young nation. The business relations between Thomas Fitz Simons and Robert Morris were very intimate. As an accommodation to Mr. Morris, Fitz Simons had signed notes for many thousands of dollars. When Morris failed Fitz Simons, in 1805, went down in the financial crash. He made a statement that for notes of half a million dollars for which he had received no value, he had paid out $150,000.

Five years later Mrs. Fitz Simons died. The following year, August 26th, 1811, Thomas Fitz Simons died in his home, No. 220 Mulberry, or Arch Street, Philadelphia, in his seventieth year. The place of his interment is unknown.

Judge Aedanus Burke is a very interesting figure in the history of that day. He was born in Galway, Ireland, June 16th, 1743, and was educated for the priesthood at St. Omer's. He went to the West Indies, and from there to South Carolina on the eve of the Revolutionary War. He was a major in the patriot army until chosen a State Supreme Court Justice in 1778, leaving the bench during a British invasion of the State to again take the sword. When the courts were reorganized, he resumed his judicial position and

was one of a commission of three to form a digest of the State's laws. He was an ardent anti-Federalist in the State convention that ratified the United States Constitution, because he feared centralization of power. After the adoption of the Constitution he was elected a Representative to the first Congress. He served from 1789 until the passage of a law in the South Carolina Legislature, 1791, which prohibited State Judges from leaving the State, whereupon he resigned from Congress. He served several times in the State Assembly, and just prior to his death, in Charleston, in 1802, became State Chancellor. He was an ardent, uncompromising republican, and published a pamphlet attacking the Order of the Cincinnati that caused the Order to revise its Constitution and eradicate some of its aristocratic provisions. The pamphlet was translated into French by Mirabeau. Thomas Burke, a near relative of Judge Burke, was Governor of North Carolina, had been a member of the Continental Congress from 1776 until 1781, and served as a volunteer in the army.

The Burkes, according to Martin I. J. Griffin, were, as most men in their time, of convivial habits, and about them he attributes the old saying in its corrected form, "It is a long time between drinks, as the Governor of North Carolina said to the Chief Justice of South Carolina." Judge Burke was in New York in 1799, as he acted as Aaron Burr's second in a duel with John B. Church, at Hoboken.

A New York newspaper of the day published the advertisement of Robert Hodge, a publisher, of No. 37 King (Pine) Street, in

which he offered for sale, at two shillings, a pamphlet entitled "The Resurrection of Laurent Ricci, or a True and Exact History of the Jesuits." This pamphlet, printed in Philadelphia, was a virulent attack on the Very Reverend Prefect John Carroll, and likened him to Father Laurent Ricci, a deceased General of the Society of Jesus. Its dedication read: "To the new Laurent Ricci in America, the Reverend Father John Carroll, Superior of the Jesuits (footing) in the United States; also to the Friar Monk-Inquisitor William O'Brien (one of his many contrivers to set his engines at work without interfering visibly himself). *This Treatise is Humbly Dedicated.*"

The author said that the publication was "a well meant caution to the United States of America, on the Danger of admitting that turbulent Body of Men called *Jesuits* among them." . . . "They have given some Instances of their Art and Ambition. Those that follow, are striking ones: In erecting the Chapels opened at New York and Boston by foreign Ecclesiastics, they have occasioned and been guilty of the most shocking offences, in Order to remove them, under various pretences, and appoint others in their Room. At New York, their Chief came and tore off the Sacerdotal Ornaments from the Priest at the Altar, beat and struck him with his Fists, before the Assembly of the Faithful." A note on page 28 of the pamphlet read: "The inquisitor Monk, William O'Brien, has himself verified this charge; for in New York and Boston he has said and written everything possible, false, wicked and absurd, to the injury of the first Roman

Catholic Priests in those Cities, with design to prejudice their congregations against them and remove them therefrom greatly to the disgrace of the Roman Catholic Religion. These are two instances among many that might be cited of his bad heart and Machiavellian conduct." The authorship of this pamphlet has never been positively fixed, but a certain French priest, who had for a time been stationed in New England and was stigmatized by an eminent non-Catholic divine of New England as a "speckled bird," is supposed to have been its author.

April 23rd was one of New York's glorious days. General Washington was rowed from Elizabethport to New York in a barge manned by thirteen New York pilots dressed in white uniforms. His Most Catholic Majesty's sloop of war "Galveston" was lying below the Battery, and many were the unfavorable comments on her undecorated appearance, when everything afloat was gay with bunting. Just as the barge came abreast of the Spanish warship she was, with magical rapidity, covered with flags from stem to stern, her yards manned, and from her sides burst the flash and smoke of a thirteen-gun salute. Among the members of the Congressional committee that accompanied the President-elect from Elizabethport to New York was Senator Charles Carroll. Two days later Representative Daniel Carroll was appointed a member of the joint committee of Congress to discuss the title, place and manner in which, and by whom, the oath of office should be administered to Washington. Major L'Enfant was

appointed on a committee to act as assistants at the inauguration ceremonies, but he declined to serve. The French and Spanish Ministers and their suites were conspicuous figures in the procession from Murray's Wharf to the Franklin House. Washington was inaugurated on the balcony of Federal Hall at noon, April 30th, 1789. The city was gay with bunting, and the people wild with enthusiasm. Tradition says that during the ceremonies Thomas Lloyd, the official reporter of the House, stood near Washington, and in the assemblage at the rear of the balcony were Senator Carroll, Representatives Daniel Carroll, Thomas Fitz Simons and Aedanus Burke, Don Diego de Gardoqui, the Spanish Minister, Count Moustier, the French Minister, and the man who had so much to do with the stage setting of the occasion, Major L'Enfant. A goodly representation of Catholics at this placing of the capstone on the national arch. In the evening there was a great display of fireworks at the Battery, and the whole city was illuminated, but no houses more brilliantly than the French and Spanish Embassies. On the Spanish Embassy, transparencies, moving pictures, lanterns and candles represented wisdom, justice, fortitude, the sun, moon and stars and the Spanish royal arms.

A ball was held in the City Assembly Rooms, on Broadway, May 7th, attended by every distinguished person in the city. Count de Moustier, in his red-heeled shoes and earrings, was present, with his eccentric sister, and Catholic social New York was represented by Mrs. Dominick Lynch. A week later Count de Moustier's

fête in honor of Washington drew together New York society. The McComb Mansion, in which the Minister made his home, has been described as it appeared on the night of the fête: "People wandered about gaining peeps of fairyland till the quadrilles were danced, and then began a scene bewildering in its beauty, where the red, red rose of France and the bluebells, symbolizing the color of Columbia, were blended with scarlet regimentals and uniforms of buff and blue, cerulean gauzes and floating scarfs of rosy tulle. Eight gentlemen, in French and American uniforms, danced with eight ladies typifying the countries of Washington and Lafayette." It is rather amusing to read, as a pendant to this opening revelry, that the supper, served from a long table running from end to end of the room, and displayed upon shelves covering the inner wall, consisted of "cakes, oranges, apples, wine of all sorts, ice creams, etc., and highly lighted up." And also that the "height of jollity" was "at 10 o'clock."

The Spanish Minister gave a ball in the Embassy, May 22nd. In September he presented to the President, Jose Viar, the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires, who occupied the post until 1794, and again for a time in 1796. Don Diego, to the great regret of New Yorkers, returned to Spain, October 10th.

Matthew Carey, the Catholic publisher of Philadelphia, issued the first edition of the Douay Bible in 1790, and the list of New York subscribers consists of the following names: George Barnwell, Francis Childs, John Downing, Joseph Idelle (or Idley), William Lalor, Domin-

ick Lynch, Andrew Morris, William Mooney, Reverend William O'Brien, Jose Roiz Silva, George Speth, Thomas Stoughton, John Sullivan, William Tinney and C. Naylon (Naylor). The necessity for a Bishop to rule the increasing number of shepherds and growing flocks had become imperative, and the Holy See had, on the recommendation of the American clergy, named Father John Carroll. He was consecrated in Lulworth Castle, England, on the Feast of the Assumption, 1790, and returned to America in December on the ship "Samson," Captain Thomas Moore. He had, as a companion on the voyage, the Right Reverend James Madison, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Virginia.

During this year the city had as visitors the Chevalier de Pontgibaud and the Marquis de Morè, French volunteer officers in the war for American independence. An extract from an old letter affords a glimpse of the quaint social life of that day: "I remember going one night with Sir John Temple (the British Consul) and Henry Remsen to a party at their (the Misses Whites', in Wall Street, near Broadway) house. I was dressed in a light French blue coat, Nankeen colored cassimere breetches, with white silk stockings, shining pumps and full ruffles on my breast and at my wrists, together with a ponderous white cravat with a pudding in it, as we then called it; and I was considered the best dressed gentleman in the room. I remember to have walked a minuet with much grace, with my friend Mrs. Verplanck, who was dressed in hoop and petticoats; and, singularly enough, I caught cold that night from drinking hot port wine

negus, and riding home in a sedan chair, with one of the glasses broken."

The French Revolution was driving the Royalists into exile. Among the distinguished refugees who came to America was François Auguste, Viscount de Chateaubriand, statesman and author, who arrived in Philadelphia in 1791, where he dined with Washington. His ostensible mission to America was to search for the northwest passage. He visited New York, Boston and Albany, dwelt for some time with Indian tribes in the West, and explored the territory bordering on the great lakes of the valley of the Mississippi.

Chateaubriand was a native of St. Malo, and was twenty-three when he arrived in America. He was destined for the priesthood, but, preferring the army, was commissioned a Second-Lieutenant when he was fifteen. Hearing of the arrest of Louis XVI while in America, he hurried back to Europe, and, enlisting in a company of Frenchmen who followed the Prussian Army that invaded France, was wounded and left for dead on the field near Thionville. He was taken to Jersey, and on his recovery went to England. He lived there from 1793 to 1800, reduced to extreme poverty. His political creed was that he was "a Bourbon from the point of honor, a royalist by reason, a republican by taste and disposition." He filled for a time a diplomatic post under Bonaparte. After the Restoration he became Minister of State and a peer of France. Losing and regaining the royal favor, he served as Minister to Brazil in 1821, to London in 1822, and as Minister of Foreign Affairs until, having

been dismissed from office, he became a Liberal. He retired from politics in 1830 and engaged in literary pursuits. Like many eminent Frenchmen of his time, Chateaubriand had drifted into materialism, until he was recalled to his faith by the dying appeal of his mother. In 1798 he began to compose his great Christian work, "The Genius of Christianity." He died in Paris, July 4th, 1848. In his last moments he was ministered to by Father de Ravignan. He tore from his works every page that his conscience rejected, and at his dictation his nephew wrote: "I declare before God that I retract every passage in my writings opposed to the Faith, to good morals, or to sound principles in general."

The City Directory for 1792 records the name "Rev. Nicholas Burke, pastor of St. Peter's Church, apostolic priest, 41 Partition Street" (Fulton Street from Broadway to the North River). Doctor John Gilmary Shea says that the Reverend "Michael" Burke was Father William O'Brien's substitute during the latter's absence on his collecting tour in Mexico. During 1792 the front portico and sacristy of St. Peter's were finished and the pews installed.

The Revolution in France and the negro uprising in San Domingo had driven so many of the French to the United States, and particularly to New York, as to give a distinct Gallican tone to the community. The De Courcy-Shea "History of the Catholic Church in the United States" says "that one thousand whites and five hundred colored people, driven from San Domingo by the revolution, arrived in Baltimore in 1793, and that so large a part of the inhabitants

came to America and settled that this French Catholic immigration exceeded in numbers the French Protestant immigration of the previous century," and further the same historians wrote: "English fanaticism (in Acadia) and the disasters of the revolution (in San Domingo) peopled the territory of the United States with more French Catholics than the revocation of the edict of Nantes ever sent Protestants." These people were of all grades of society, but the revolutions had proved great levelers. Many of the nobility had lost all their possessions and reached New York almost penniless. Many of them found a means of livelihood by teaching languages, music, or those among them who had some means engaged in business. Brissot de Warville, the French Revolutionist and author, who had been in the United States in 1789, did not approve of the attitude of some of his countrymen towards America and Americans. He wrote that the Frenchmen whom he met in this country spent their time in boasting of the services which France had rendered to the Americans and in sneering at the tastes and customs of the Americans.

Among those who suffered the direst privations in New York in 1793 was Mederic Louis Elie Moreau de Saint Merv. He was a native of the Island of Martinique, and at twenty had gone to France and entered the royal police. He applied himself to the mastery of law, mathematics and the code. He was admitted to the bar, and, returning to Martinique, practiced law. He was called to the Superior Council of San Domingo in 1780, and employed his leisure hours

in collecting data relating to the history, geography and laws of the French West Indies. He discovered the tomb of Christopher Columbus in 1783, and restored it at his own expense. San Domingo sent him as its representative to the French Parliament, and he was instrumental in effecting the election of Lafayette as Commander-in-Chief of the National Guard. During one of the party upheavals of the Revolution he was imprisoned, but was permitted by his guards to escape, and sailed for the United States. From New York he went to Philadelphia, where he became a printer and bookseller, and published several works dealing with the French West Indies. Returning to France in 1800, he was appointed a Councilor of State and sent to Parma, but, probably owing to his being related to Josephine, was deposed by Bonaparte in 1806. He suffered from poverty until Louis XVIII gave him a pension of 15,000 francs. He died in Paris, January 13th, 1819.

John Berard and his wife, fleeing from the San Dominican revolution, came to New York. With them was Berard's confidential servant, Peter Toussaint, a negro slave born on the plantation of Latibonite, parish of St. Mark, San Domingo, in 1766. The Berards' departure from the island had been hurried, and, having established his wife in New York, Mr. Berard returned to San Domingo to collect the remnants of his fortune, but his death on the voyage left her penniless. Toussaint was her sole support. He was an expert hairdresser, and his intelligence and politeness made him very popular with the wealthy society people of the city. His earnings

were all handed to his mistress, but Madame Berard married a Mr. Nicholas, who, from being a wealthy planter in San Domingo, had been reduced to playing the violin in orchestras in New York. Toussaint did not consider himself relieved from the duty of accounting to his mistress for his earnings by the change in her condition. He lived the life of a saint, and during the disastrous yellow fever epidemic his conduct was heroic. Madam Berard Nicolas, on her deathbed, in 1810, emancipated her faithful slave. The greater part of his income was expended in relieving the poor, in assisting the infant church, and in soliciting alms for his various good works. His old non-Catholic patrons were among his most liberal contributors. The principal part of his property, his wife and children having died, was left to one of his kindest patrons, who had been reduced to penury by an unfortunate marriage. Toussaint died in his eighty-seventh year, June 30th, 1853, and Father Quinn, in his remarks after the solemn Mass of requiem over his remains, said: " There were left few among the clergy superior to him in devotion and zeal for the Church and for the glory of God; among laymen, none."

With the arrival and wildly enthusiastic reception of " Citizen " Edmond Charles Genet, or Genest, the French Minister, in 1794, the French craze reached a climax in New York. During the same year the French warship " L'Ambuscade," Citizen Bompard master, entered the bay. Challenged by the captain of a British warship, Bompard took his vessel outside Sandy Hook, fought and defeated the Englishman.

The Frenchman who was chiefly instrumental in inducing King Louis XVI to sign the treaty of alliance through which the United colonies became a nation, arrived in New York in 1794. He was François Alexandre Frederic, Duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt D'Estissac. In his youth he was known as Count de la Rochefoucauld, and in 1767 took the title of Duc de Liancourt. He became a Lieutenant-General in 1790. He introduced agricultural improvements on his estate, and in 1780 founded and endowed a school of mechanical arts, out of which grew the school of "Arts et Metiers."

A deputy to the Assembly of Notables in 1788, and to the States-General in 1789, he presided over the session of the Constituent Assembly in 1789, in which titles of nobility were abolished. He was military commander in Rouen in 1792, and used every endeavor to save the life of King Louis. Dismissed from the French service the same year, he passed over to England, and two years later came to the United States. He traveled extensively in America, studying the agricultural methods of the country, and bought a farm in Pennsylvania, on which he carried on his agricultural experiments. After a stay of six years in the United States, he visited Holland and Denmark, and in 1799 returned to France and lived on his estate of Liancourt, which had been restored to him by Bonaparte. Although he served as a member of the Corps Législatif, he refused to accept any office from Napoleon.

Louis XVIII created him a peer, but philanthropy appealed to him more than politics. The

first savings bank in Paris was established by him, and mainly through his influence vaccination was introduced in that country. He had lived under a royal, imperial and republican government, and, as a result of his experiences, in the closing years of his life, became an earnest opponent of royalty and a strong advocate of American principles and institutions. His opposition to the Royalists, his philanthropy, benevolence and popularity gained for him from his political enemies the nickname "the Saint Vincent de Paul of the Liberal Party." He died in Paris, March 28th, 1827.

One day in 1794, two men were promenading the sea wall of the Battery. One of them was very tall and had long light hair tied in a cue. His complexion was sallow, his eyes blue, his mouth large and coarse. His big body was inclined to stoutness. Singularly short legs ended in deformed feet that caused him to walk with a limp. The two lived in the Kennedy house, No. 1 Broadway, that had been opened as a fashionable boarding house after it was vacated by the Spanish Minister. The man who has been described and his companion had invested their little capital in freighting a ship in which they purposed trying their fortunes in India. All that was required for the sailing was a favorable wind. One day, while the tall man was seated at a desk in his room, writing, his companion, Monsieur Beaumet, entered hurriedly, in a great state of excitement, and said:

"Why do you lose time in writing those letters? They will never reach their destination; come with me and let us make the round of the

Battery; the wind may become favorable; perhaps we are nearer to our departure than we think."

Towards the close of one of the most eventful lives in history, the tall man often told the following tale: "The day was magnificent, although the wind was high; I allowed myself to be persuaded. Beaumet, as I afterwards recollected, showed extraordinary alacrity in closing my desk, arranging my papers, and offering my hat and cane, which I attributed to the need of incessant activity with which he had appeared overwhelmed ever since our enforced departure. We threaded the well-peopled streets and reached the Battery. He had offered me his arm, and hurried on as if he were in haste to reach it. When we were on the grand esplanade, he hastened still more, until we reached the edge. He spoke loudly and rapidly, and admired, in energetic terms, the beauties of the scene. Suddenly he stopped, in the midst of his disordered conversation. I had disengaged my arm from his, and stood firmly before him. I fixed my eye upon him, and he moved aside, as if intimidated and ashamed.

"'Beaumet,' cried I, 'your intention is to murder me; you mean to throw me from this height into the sea. Deny it, monster, if you dare!' The insane man looked at me intently with his haggard eyes for a moment; but I was careful not to remove my gaze from him, and they fell. He muttered some incoherent words, and endeavored to pass me, but I spread my arms and prevented him. Casting a wild look around, he threw himself on my neck and burst into tears.

"'It is true, it is true, my friend. The thought has haunted me day and night like an infernal flame. It was for that I brought you here; see, you are not a foot from the precipice! Another instant, the deed would have been done!' The demon had abandoned him; his eyes were void of expression; a white foam covered his parched lips; the crisis had passed. I conducted him home. Some days of rest, bleeding and dieting entirely cured him, and what is the most singular circumstance of all, we never recurred to the occurrence."

The relator was convinced that "an extraordinary and inexplicable prescience" had saved his life. Had the deranged Beaumet accomplished his purpose, many pages of the history of Europe in the early years of the nineteenth century would have read differently. Beaumet's companion was Charles Maurice Talleyrand de Pèrigord, formerly Bishop of Autun, subsequently Prince de Benevento.

Ordered to leave England under the provisions of the Alien Act, in January, 1794, he sailed for Philadelphia. Although his brilliancy of intellect drew around him a certain circle of admirers in the Quaker city, his manner of life, more particularly because of the general knowledge that he was an ecclesiastic, disgusted and repelled the Philadelphians. Although armed with a letter from Lord Lansdowne, Pontgibaud says, General Washington refused to receive Talleyrand. "In spite of all his wit and amiability," wrote the Chevalier de Pontgibaud, "he was looked upon somewhat coolly by the best society of Philadelphia, with whom his light, careless manners did

not meet with the welcome they deserved. In fact, the Anglo-Americans are simple and straightforward in their manners, and the cynical, irreverent contempt of their guest for all things Americans respected greatly scandalized them. M. de Talleyrand had the right, if it pleased him, to pull off his clerical gown and trail it in the mud, but he had also, at that time, a position as a French émigré, and though he might resign for himself the welcome bestowed upon unfortunate people in that position, he also indirectly injured others."

He left Philadelphia and came to New York, becoming during his stay a citizen of the United States. As he is said to have sworn allegiance to a dozen constitutions during his career, his American citizenship probably impressed him but lightly. He removed from New York to Brooklyn, and lived for a time in a house on Fulton Street, near Hicks Street. A favorite amusement of this future Prince of the French Empire was to climb to the seat of a farm wagon and, with its Dutch American farmhand for a companion, ride along the tree-embowered highways of Flatbush and New Utrecht.

The excommunicated Bishop of Autun returned to France in 1795 and, from being a close friend of Louis XVI, became a supporter of the Directory. Two years later he was appointed Foreign Minister. From the beginning to the close of his public career, he was always at the beck of the highest bidder, and amassed great wealth by gambling. His corruption caused him to lose the portfolio of Foreign Minister, but

during the Consulate Napoleon reappointed him to the position.

In 1809 he became estranged from Bonaparte, but his office of Vice-Grand Elector saved him from the Emperor's vengeance. It was Talleyrand who placed Louis XVIII on the throne and reintroduced the voice of France into the deliberations of Europe. During the Hundred Days he remained in retirement at Carlsbad, and after Waterloo became Prime Minister. Resigning his office, he passed fifteen years in private life, but served under Charles X and Louis Philippe, ending his public career in 1834.

The sentence of excommunication against him was recalled in 1801. On the day of his death, May 17th, 1838, "he signed a solemn acknowledgement of repentance for those errors of his life which had brought upon him the censure of the Church."

The closing paragraph of his "retractation" read: "I deplore, afresh, those acts of my life which have offended the Church, and my last prayers will be for her and for her supreme leader."

In the multitude of expatriated Frenchmen who did so much to build up and enrich the western metropolis was Joseph Thebaud, who came to the United States in 1793. He was the agent of the French East India Company, and the American representative of several French capitalists and companies. On his arrival he located in Boston for a time, removing to New Haven, where he married a Miss Le Breton, formerly of Martinique. Locating permanently in New York, he opened a counting room at No. 11

Beekman Street, and made his home in No. 12, opposite. His country residence was a fine brick mansion, located in spacious grounds, on the line of the present Orchard Street. He was an enthusiastic botanist, and his large greenhouses were his especial pride. He was the originator of the French Benevolent Society, and a leading director of the Mechanics' Bank. He was regarded as one of the prominent merchants of the city. Mr. Thebaud died in 1811.

An epidemic of yellow fever, in 1795, carried off 732 people, many of them Catholic immigrants lately arrived in the city. There was consternation in the city, business was at a standstill, and services were held frequently in the churches to implore Divine aid.

The vestry of Trinity Church, in this year, received "a Petition from the Trustees of the Roman Catholic Church of St. Peter's in this City praying the Board to relinquish a Part of the Arrears now due, and an abatement of their Rent." The vestry resolved, June 8th, "that the Board will dispose of to the Trustees of Saint Peter's Church in fee simple all those Lots under Lease to them for the sum of one thousand pounds to be paid in two months, and will remit and discharge them from all Back Rents due to this Corporation if such takes effect." Notwithstanding the great influx of French during these years, the income of St. Peter's was evidently insufficient for the support of the church. Accustomed to a State-endowed church, many gave little, if any, pecuniary assistance, and others, particularly the West Indies, were affiliated with the Masonic fraternity.

The records of Trinity parish for 1796 show a donation of money from "the Minister of the Roman Catholic Congregation" towards the support of Trinity Parish Charity School. This school was established in 1709, during the rectorate of the Reverend William Vesey, D.D.

The name of the Reverend John Baptist Joseph Le Maire, evidently a visiting priest, appears on the baptismal register of St. Peter's this year. The trustees of St. Peter's petitioned Bishop Carroll to appoint the New England convert, Father John Thayer, to the assistant pastorate of that church, but, owing to some reluctance to receive him on the part of Father William O'Brien, the appointment was not made.

Louis Philippe, Duc d'Orleans, traveled in the United States in 1796-7. He was joined, while in this country, by his two brothers, the Duc de Montponsier and the Comte de Beaujolais. During their stay in New York they lodged in Bloomingdale. Gouverneur Morris furnished the money to the future King to enable him to reach America and travel while here. He forgot the debt when fortune favored him, and it became necessary to remind him of it. Morris received the exact amount of the loan, but without a word of thanks. As the French monarch indicated thereby that he regarded the loan as a strictly business matter, Morris put it on that basis, and had his attorney demand twenty years' interest, which the King paid. The money refunded amounted to seventy thousand francs. Louis Philippe was, like his father, a revolutionist, but, becoming suspected, fled to Switzerland.

After his American visit, he returned to Europe, and, failing in an attempt to stir up a revolution in Spain, in 1800, retired to England, where he remained until permitted to return to France in 1817. He was a leader of the revolution in France in 1830, and was elected King of the French. In 1848 he was compelled to resign in favor of his grandson, the Count of Paris. He died, in England, in 1850.

The Reverend Jean Ambrose Sougé, Canon and Theologal of Dol, a refugee from France, arrived in the city from England in 1797. The Revolution had forced him to flee from France in 1792, and for five years he had labored in the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, in Dorchester, and had come armed with credentials from Bishop John Douglass to Bishop Carroll. After a short stay in New York, he proceeded to Hartford, Connecticut, to be chaplain in the family of the Vicomte De Sibert Cornillon, an émigré, who had settled near that place. With faculties from Bishop Carroll, he discharged the duties of his priestly office, and was associated in Hartford for a brief period with the Abbé J. S. Tisserant, the friend and director of the saintly Mother Seton. The Abbé Sougé was at St. Joseph's, Talbot County, Maryland, in 1801. He ministered to a little colony of Maryland Catholics in Locust Grove, Georgia, at a later date, and after seventeen months' missionary work at that place, returned to France.

The Reverend Fathers Louis Sibourd and James Charles Halbout were in the city in 1797. The former had labored as a pioneer missionary in Pennsylvania as early as 1794. He seems to

have been on a short visit to the city at this time, but was attached to St. Peter's in 1807-8. He served, subsequently, as a Missionary Apostolic in San Domingo. Father Halbout was in the city about seven months, and his name appears on St. Peter's baptismal register.

A yellow fever epidemic raged in the city from July 29th to November 29th, and the mortality rose to 2,086. One of the victims was Jose Roiz Silva. Among the contributors for the aid of the sufferers was Dominick Lynch, who gave an ox, 2 pigs, 2 lambs, 80 chickens and 16 bushels of potatoes.

Among the noted Irish immigrants who came to New York, as a result of political activity in the Rebellion of 1798, was William O'Brien. He established a banking house in the city in 1800, and, it is said, refused the New York agency of the Bank of England. He died, at the age of seventy-eight years, August 31st, 1846. He was an ancestor of the deeply lamented Father William O'Brien Pardow, the eminent Jesuit.

A Frenchman who found fortune in New York was Stephen Jumel, who arrived from France in 1798. He became an importer, and opened a store at No. 39 Stone Street, removing fifteen years later to No. 69 Liberty Street, near Broadway, and finally locating at the corner of Pearl and Whitehall streets. His first wife dying, he married, in 1801, Eliza Bowen Croix, born at sea, of French parents, and the widow of Colonel Peter Croix, of the British Army. Jumel, who had amassed a great fortune, bought from the Morris estate the mansion and grounds bounded by the present Edgecombe Road, Jumel

Terrace, and 160th and 161st streets. Jumel imported from France the finest hangings, plate and furniture for the old mansion. Prince Jérôme Bonaparte, General Moreau and all the distinguished Frenchmen who came to the city were entertained within its hospitable walls. Jumel died in 1832, and was interred in the Eleventh Street Cemetery. His widow married Aaron Burr shortly after his death, but the union was unhappy and short-lived. Madam Jumel died in 1865. The Jumel Mansion was recently purchased by the Daughters of the Revolution, and is maintained as a museum.

About 1797, and for years after, on patriotic holidays, a short, stout figure, clad in a worn and faded Continental naval uniform, attracted attention as it promenaded down Broadway to Bowling Green. It was the unhappy, unfortunate, and, many thought, deranged, "Admiral" Pierre Landais. He was of a noble and wealthy French family, and entered the French navy in 1762. He saw active service in 1763, circumnavigated the globe with Bougainville in 1766-67-68, and commanded a line-of-battle ship in 1773.

When the American colonies rose against English misrule, Landais sacrificed a promising career in the French service to assist the Americans. Baron Steuben recommended him, and the American commissioner in France, Silas Deane, gave him command of the ship "Flammand," loaded with military stores for the Americans. He eluded the British cruisers sent out to intercept him, and landed his much-needed cargo in a friendly port. The Marine Committee of

Congress praised his skill in executing his task, and Congress gave him a commission as captain in the navy and voted him 12,000 livres for his services. The Marine Committee gave him superintendence over the building of the warships at Portsmouth and Salisbury, calling him in their report "an excellent sea officer and skilled in the construction of ships-of-war." In the summer of 1778 Landais was placed in command of the newly-launched frigate "Alliance," 36 guns, and carried General Lafayette and his staff to France, quelling a mutiny on the voyage.

In Brest, August, 1779, Landais met John Paul Jones, a man with almost as ill-balanced a mind as his own, and an enmity grew and increased between them. A little squadron of four vessels had been gathered at the port, and to these the "Alliance" was joined. There was serious friction as to who should command. After this question had been settled by the selection of Jones, the ships sailed, August 14th. The squadron fell in with the Baltic fleet of merchantmen convoyed by the warships "Serapis" and "Countess of Scarborough," September 23rd. In the action that followed Landais was accused of cowardice and treachery. Of the former in holding aloof in the early part of the engagement, and of the latter in pouring several broadsides into the "Bon Homme Richard," Jones' ship, while she was lashed to the "Serapis." Landais' enemies accused him of a design to sink Jones' ship that the glory of capturing the "Serapis" might be his. His friends asserted that he was an officer educated in the naval warfare of an earlier day, when tactics prescribed every

movement in an action, and that Jones was a daredevil who ignored tactics entirely, and that the firing on the "Bon Homme Richard" was due to the fact that Landais was confused by Jones' maneuvers, which were so greatly at variance with those prescribed by the authorities. On arriving in France, Jones and some of the officers of the squadron reported the affair to Franklin, reflecting severely on Landais. Landais promptly called out Captain Cottineau, of the "Pallas," and ran him through. He challenged Jones, but the "canny Scot" did not understand the duello and eluded him. Landais demanded a trial without delay. Franklin ordered him to Paris to answer the charges. He hurried there, prepared to meet his accusers, but failed to secure a hearing. His old ship, the "Alliance," was in the port of L'Orient in March, 1780, and Landais petitioned Franklin to reinstate him in command. Fourteen officers of the ship signed a testimonial declaring Landais to be a brave and capable commander, and the crew declared that unless arrears of prize money were paid and Landais reinstated in command, they would not man the vessel. Franklin was incensed at this action, but Arthur Lee, the American agent at Paris, ruled that Landais' commission from Congress had never been revoked, and that he was responsible to Congress for the "Alliance" until relieved. Landais promptly took command and sailed for Boston.

The Chevalier de Pontgibaud, a passenger on the "Alliance," says in his journal that on the voyage Landais "went out of his mind." "We had previously noticed some peculiarities in his

manner, and we were soon to acquire the certainty that he was insane." At dinner one day, while Landais was carving a turkey, Commissioner Lee helped himself to the liver and was about to eat it, when Landais rose in a fury and threatened to kill him with the carving knife. "He was raving mad." Some of the crew, summoned to the cabin on the order of the commissioner, seized and bound Landais. The command for the remainder of the voyage was given to the first officer.

Landais found in Boston the Court of Inquiry awaiting him. He was declared guilty on Jones' charges, and was summarily dismissed from the American Navy. Returning to France, he entered the navy of the French Republic, and was assigned to the command of the frigate "Patriot," 74 guns. Burning with the desire to clear his name in the new world, he resigned his commission and returned to New York. For twenty-three years he haunted the halls of Congress, urging his claims for arrears of pay and prize money, but his demands were never heeded. He became poorer and poorer, eking out a miserable existence by the aid of an annuity purchased by his arrears of prize money. In a memorial to Congress, he said that for seven years he had been compelled to subsist on one dollar a week, and "when at home to do the meanest drudgery of my lodgings in order to keep my honor and integrity unsoiled and to prolong my life." His closing years were passed in a house on Fulton Street, Brooklyn. In his last illness he was carried, at his request, to Bellevue Hospital, and died there, September 17th, 1820. Two

years before his death he ordered a tombstone erected over his prospective grave in St. Patrick's Churchyard, in Mulberry Street, that bore the following inscription:

A La Mémoire
de
PIERRE DE LANDAIS,
Ancien Contre-Admiral
au service
DES ETATS UNIS
Qui Disparut
Juin 1818
Agé 87 ans.

An infant was born of non-Catholic parents in the city, in 1799, who was destined to become one of the most distinguished Catholic laymen in the history of the community—Henry James Anderson. He was graduated with the highest honors from Columbia College in 1818, and took his degree in medicine at the College of Physicians and Surgeons five years later, but did not practice, devoting his time to mathematical investigation. He accepted a call to the chair of mathematics and astronomy at Columbia College in 1825, and held that professorship for a quarter of a century. He was an accomplished linguist.

In 1848 he was geologist to the United States Dead Sea Exploring Expedition, under command of Lieutenant W. F. Lynch, U.S.N., and the government published results of his labors in two volumes. He had been for years a zealous seeker after the Truth, and, in 1849,

while a guest of the astronomer, Arago, he became a Catholic. During the remainder of his days his faith was distinguished by its simplicity and unquestioning loyalty. He was elected a trustee of Columbia College in 1851, and, resigning his active professorship, was named Emeritus Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy. He was a member of the first American pilgrimage to Rome and Lourdes, in 1874, and when it disbanded he went, at his own expense, to Australia to observe the transit of Venus. Returning by way of India, he was stricken with cholera that ended his life, at Lahore, October 19th, 1875. His large bequests to the Church and to charitable institutions resulted in the Pope conferring on him the decoration of a Knight of St. Gregory the Great. Doctor Anderson became a member of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul shortly after his conversion, and was President of St. Francis Xavier's Conference for two years. He was elected President of the Particular Council of the Society at its organization in 1856, and held a like position in the Superior Council from 1860 until his death. He was also President of the Catholic Union. To his zeal and energy are due in great measure the existence of that world-famous institution, the New York Catholic Protectory.

John Baptist Alexis Mary de Seze was one of the French nobility ruined and driven from home by the French Revolution to eke out an existence among strangers. He located at No. 12 Reade Street, and supported his family by teaching music. His daughter, Ellen Eugenia Adelaide, whose name is on the baptismal register of

St. Peter's, married John B. Flandrin, a Broadway merchant prince of his day.

Bishop Carroll, in September, 1799, wrote the Reverend Doctor Matthew O'Brien, O.S.D., pastor at Albany, N. Y., offering to appoint him pastor at Natchez, Mississippi, but in September, 1800, the trustees of St. Peter's, Thomas Stoughton, Charles Naylor, John Sullivan, John Hogan, Thomas Cavenagh, Dominick Lynch, Andrew Morris and George Barnwall, wrote to the Bishop asking the appointment of an assistant clergyman to that congregation, and informing him that they had applied to the Reverend Doctor Matthew O'Brien, "who intended embarking for Natchez." The Bishop complied with the trustees' request.

Another Dominican, the Reverend Anthony McMahon, died in New York, in July, 1800.

CHAPTER XX

CONCERNING CATHOLICITY IN THE CITY AT THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY UNTIL THE ERECTION OF THE CITY INTO AN EPISCOPAL SEE, CONCLUDED

THE debt on St. Peter's Church in 1800 was about $6,500, the annual income about $1,500, and the yearly expenses about $1,400. Father Matthew O'Brien, writing from No. 54 Robinson Street, January 5th, 1801, said: "An organ, organist and choir are on foot and a singing Master attends to form and direct the children, many of whom would surprise you by their performance. All is conducted on the plan of Philadelphia and Baltimore, and our church is crowded. We have catechism twice a week previous to the singing, are in trim for preparing a first Communion. The organ is more than paid for, 500 dollars, and answers very well, and we have got a Crimson damask Curtain for the altar, to correspond in colour with that which fronts the choir and organ. The next object is a charity school. The trustees promise to meet next week."

Doctor O'Brien wrote to Bishop Carroll, November 16th: "The Church of New York you have heard about. You will hear also that its congregation has vastly increased, and even now

would fill two churches. We will finish our steeple in the ensuing spring and purchase a Bell, our church yard is nearly paid for: We will put a new iron railing to the steps of the Church and open another door. Could we effect a chapel of ease in the extremity of this city, where most of the poor Catholics are thronged it would make us happy."

The churchyard, or cemetery, referred to in Doctor O'Brien's letter was a plot of nine lots, 251x100 feet, on the northwestern corner of Prince and Mott streets, purchased by St. Peter's trustees, May 23rd, 1801. Two years later ten more lots in the rear of these were added. Some of the tombstones, dated 1801, indicate that interments began soon after the property was acquired. From 1796 until 1801 Catholics were buried in what remained of the plot, 100x125 feet, around St. Peter's after the church edifice, 48x81 feet, had been erected. Only members of the congregation who contributed four dollars yearly had the right of burial in this ground. Prior to 1796, Catholics were interred in Trinity, St. Paul's, or one of the many non-Catholic churchyards in the city.

The green-clad hills of Staten Island, in the vicinity of the quarantine, in the summer of 1801, were studded with white tents and shelters, occupied by the great advance guard of the Catholic Irish hosts who, with their descendants, were destined to make the city up the bay the greatest Catholic community in the world. Ship fever had broken out in some of the emigrant ships, and Doctor Richard Bayley, the health officer of the port, to protect the city's dwellers, had caused

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the immigrants to disembark at quarantine. Mrs. Elizabeth Seton, Doctor Bayley's daughter, who was not a Catholic at the time, wrote, June 14th, 1801: "The scenes of misery here are past all description. There are ten large tents, and other shelters fitting up as fast as half-a-dozen carpenters, boatmen and all hands can work. The first thing these poor people did when they got their tents was to assemble on the grass and, all kneeling, adore our Maker for his mercy, and every morning's sun finds them repeating his praise."

The Reverend Father O'Mahony arrived in New York from Ireland in the fall of 1801, and Doctor O'Brien recommended him to Bishop Carroll as a suitable appointment to the pastorate in Albany.

Another arrival from Ireland, in the same year, was Thomas O'Connor, a native of Dublin, Ireland. He became associated with William Kernan, father of the late Francis Kernan, United States Senator from New York, in founding a settlement on a tract of 40,000 acres in Steuben County, N. Y. The enterprise not meeting his expectations, he returned to New York city and devoted himself to literary pursuits. He published the first newspaper in the United States devoted to Catholic and Irish interests, *The Shamrock, or Hibernian Chronicle*, issued from December 15th, 1810, to June 5th, 1813. Under the name *The Shamrock*, it reappeared, June 18th, 1814, and ceased to exist with the issue of August 16th, 1817. In January, 1819, it was revived as *The Globe*, a monthly magazine, that lasted about one year.

In 1812 he edited the *Military Monitor* and *The War* for a short time. In 1815 he wrote "An Impartial and Correct History of the War Between the United States of America and Great Britain" (1812-1815), and, in 1825, "The Inquisition Examined by an Impartial Reviewer," which was issued in parts. His son Charles, one of the most eminent members of the American bar, and honored by nominations for Lieutenant-Governor of New York and President of the United States, was born in the city January 22nd, 1804. One of his most noteworthy achievements was his service against the notorious Tweed ring. This labor was undertaken solely through devotion to civic purity, and for his services he declined any compensation. Thomas O'Connor, whose pen "was ever directed in vindicating the fame of Ireland, the honor of our United American States, or the truth and purity of his cherished Mother, the Apostolic Church," died February 9th, 1855, and his distinguished son died May 12th, 1884.

An important body of business men, the American publishers, held their first social gathering in the old City Hotel, on Broadway, one day in 1802. They had been called together by Matthew Carey, a Philadelphia publisher, and an ardent Catholic. In his address on that occasion Mr. Carey urged "renewed meetings of a like nature as the most effective means for the promotion and diffusion of knowledge." Matthew Carey was born in Ireland in 1760. He received a good education, and when, in his fifteenth year, his father placed a list of twenty-five trades before him and bade him make his choice, he selected the

trade of printer and bookseller, much to his father's disgust. Two years later he published a treatise on duelling, followed by an address to his fellow Catholics that was so revolutionary in tone as to draw down on its writer the wrath of the British government, and he was forced to fly to Paris. There he met Benjamin Franklin, then representing the United States at Versailles, and Franklin employed him for about a year. Returning to Ireland, young Carey published *The Freemen's Journal*, and afterwards *The Volunteers' Journal*. The latter paper became a power in Irish politics, and to its efforts was attributed, in great measure, the legislative independence of Ireland. Accused of libel, because of an attack on Parliament and the ministry, he was arraigned before the House of Commons, in 1784, and imprisoned until Parliament was dissolved.

When liberated, he sailed for America, landing in Philadelphia November 15th, 1784. He began the publication of the *Pennsylvania Herald* in 1785. Because of a journalistic difficulty with Colonel Oswald, he met him in a duel, January 1st, 1786, and Carey was shot through the thigh bone. Among his achievements were his heroic services as a member of the Philadelphia Committee of Health during the yellow fever epidemic in 1793. The same year he founded the Hibernian Society to care for the Irish immigrants. He met William Cobbett in controversy and vanquished him. He published, for six years, a magazine called *The American Museum*. Matthew Carey married Miss B. Flahaven in 1791, and shortly afterwards opened

a small bookshop. No citizen of his day was more deeply interested in every public question and movement. Like Fitz Simons, he was an ardent Protectionist, and between 1819 and 1833 published fifty-nine pamphlets on the tariff. Numbers of pamphlets and newspapers attest his interest in the questions affecting the United States bank. His political books, "The Olive Branch," "New Olive Branch," and "Essays on Political Economy," are regarded as authorities on the political history of that period. His "Vindiciae Hibernicae" is a vindication of his countrymen from the charges of butcheries alleged to have been committed by them in 1641.

In 1790 he published the first edition of the Douay Bible issued in the United States. He died in Philadelphia, September 16th, 1839.

On the "arc de triomphe" in Paris, among the names of the generals of the Revolution is that of Miranda. A soldier of fortune, Francisco Miranda came to New York, in 1803, with a scheme to liberate Venezuela from Spain. His magnetism and charm and his promises of wealth persuaded some of New York's merchant princes to advance the necessary funds, and, with two armed vessels and two hundred volunteers, including some New York Catholics, he set sail for South America. His force was attacked by the Spaniards at Ocumare, March 25th, 1806, and he lost a number of men. He captured the town of Coro in August, but the apathy of the people caused him to leave for Europe to seek assistance. He returned with Simon Bolivar, in 1810, and went to Caracas, that city having fallen into the hands of revolutionists. Miranda organized

the government and became Vice-President of Congress. Valencia surrendered to him as Commander-in-Chief of the revolutionary forces, August 13th, 1811, and he entered Caracas in triumph, April 26th, 1812. He lost the battle of Valencia, fought May 14th, 1812, through treachery, and reverses and discontent caused him to be accused of treachery, and he was taken prisoner by the revolutionary authorities. He subsequently fell into the hands of the Spaniards, and died in prison, in Cadiz, July 14th, 1816, in his sixtieth year. Miranda was a Venezuelan by birth, and at seventeen was a cadet in the Spanish military service, attaining the rank of Captain. He served in the United States in 1779 and 1781. Returning to Cuba, he was detected trading illegally and was forced to fly to Europe. At the outbreak of the French Revolution he entered the revolutionary army, and rose to the rank of Major-General. Condemned by the Directory, in 1797, he fled to England and urged William Pitt to aid him in his designs on Venezuela. Failing in England, he found the needed help in New York.

Few New Yorkers know that the librettist of Mozart's famous operas, "Don Giovanni," "La Nozze di Figaro," and "Cosi Fan Tutti," was, for a time, a New York dealer in tea, tobacco and drugs. Lorenzo Da Ponte was born in Ceneda, Italy, March 10th, 1749. His father, Jeremiah Conegliano, was a Jewish leather dealer, and the son's name was Emanuel Conegliano. When young Conegliano was in his fourteenth year, he, with his father's family, was baptized a Catholic. The Bishop of Caneta

became interested in the lad, gave him his name, and sent him to the diocesan seminary, where he remained for five years. Father Finotti says that Da Ponte was ordained a priest. Political troubles caused him to seek asylum in Vienna, and here he met Mozart and wrote the librettos of his operas. He lived for a time in London as secretary to the Italian opera, and arrived in New York June 4th, 1805. In addition to his storekeeping, he taught Italian. In his eightieth year he was appointed Professor of Italian literature in Columbia College. Nine years later he died, and was interred in the Eleventh Street cemetery. Father Finotti says he was reconciled to the Church on his deathbed. He wrote many dramas and sonnets, translated into Italian Byron's "Prophecy of Dante" and Dodsley's "Economy of Human Life," and wrote his "Life" and the "History of the Florentine Republic and the Medici."

The famous Irish poet, Thomas Moore, arrived in New York, a passenger on H. B. Majesty's frigate "Boston," in 1804. He traveled extensively in the United States. The same year the city was visited by the dashing young French naval officer, Captain Jerome Bonaparte, and his lovely bride, formerly Elizabeth Patterson, of Baltimore, Maryland. The bride's age was nineteen years, the groom was twenty. William Patterson, the bride's father, had come to America from Ireland, a poor emigrant, and had prospered until he became the second wealthiest man in Maryland. Among the guests at a ball at the house of Samuel Chase, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, was Captain

Jerome Bonaparte, the brother of the First Consul of France. He met Elizabeth Patterson, and mutual admiration became love. Worldly-wise William Patterson, aware of the brilliant future that awaited young Jerome, and conscious that the First Consul would never consent to the union of his young brother with the daughter of an American merchant, endeavored to end the infatuation by sending Elizabeth to Virginia. The lovers corresponded, became engaged, and Jerome procured a marriage license. He was persuaded to defer the nuptials until after his nineteenth birthday. William Patterson, determined that if there was to be a marriage it would be a contract that could not be broken because of flaws, complied carefully with every legal formality. Alexander Dallas, Vice-Consul of France, afterwards Secretary of the Treasury, drew the marriage contract, and Archbishop Carroll made the couple man and wife in the presence of the Mayor of Baltimore and other dignitaries. The First Consul sent a message to Jerome that his "youthful indiscretion" would be forgiven if he would leave the "young person" in America, but that she would not be permitted to set foot on French soil. The young couple sailed for Lisbon in one of Mr. Patterson's ships, and found there a French warship to prevent her landing. Jerome hurried to Paris to plead his cause with his famous brother, and the ship, with his bride, proceeded to Amsterdam, but its progress was stopped at the mouth of the Texel by two more French men-of-war. Elizabeth Bonaparte was forced to seek an asylum in England, where her son, Jerome Napoleon

Bonaparte, was born, July 5th, 1805. Pope Pius VII was appealed to by Napoleon Bonaparte to annul the marriage, but he refused absolutely. The Imperial Council of State passed a decree of divorce, and granted Madam Bonaparte a life pension of 60,000 francs annually, if she would return to America and renounce the family name of the Corsican. She consented to return to America, hoping thereby to conciliate her brother-in-law. Jerome was well rewarded for his desertion. He was created a Prince of the Empire and appointed an admiral, subsequently a general, and successor to the Imperial throne, in the event of his brother leaving no heir. He was placed on the throne of Westphalia, July, 1807, and the following month was "married" to the Princess Catherine of Wurtemberg.

After the fall of Bonaparte, Jerome lived in exile. Returning to France, in 1847, he was made a Field Marshal, three years later, and died near Paris in 1860.

Elizabeth Bonaparte employed every means to maintain the legality of her marriage. When the third Napoleon Bonaparte became Emperor of the French she was granted a formal trial. Jerome, the deserter, appealed to the Council of State to forbid his son to use the name of Bonaparte. The council decreed that, while he might use his father's name, he could not be recognized as a member of the Imperial family. When Jerome, senior, died, his widow brought suit for a share of his estate, and, notwithstanding the unimpeachable proof of the validity of her marriage, the Court bowed to the will of Napoleon

and decided against her. Her son was, however, recognized as a legitimate son of France. Many years of Elizabeth Bonaparte's unhappy life were spent in Europe. She died in Baltimore, April 4th, 1879. Her grandson, Charles Joseph Bonaparte, a representative American Catholic, is the present Attorney-General of the United States.

On the morning of Ash Wednesday, March 14th, 1805, a woman of thirty years, fatigued by a long walk from her home in the suburbs, entered St. Peter's Church. In a letter to a friend she wrote: "A day of days for me, Amabilia. I have been where? To the church of St. Peter, which has a cross on the top instead of a weathercock—to what is called here among so many churches the *Catholic Church.*

"When I turned the corner of the street it is in—'Here, my God, I go,' said I, 'my heart all to You.' Entering it, how that heart died away, as it were, in silence before that little tabernacle and the great crucifixion above it. 'Ah! my God, here let me rest,' I said, as I went down on my knees, and my head sunk on my bosom. If I could have thought of any thing but of God, there was enough, I suppose, to have astonished a stranger in the hurry and bustle of this congregation; but as I came to visit His Majesty only, I knew not what it meant until afterwards. It was a day they receive ashes—the beginning of Lent—and the most venerable Irish priest, who seems just come there, talked of death so familiarly that he delighted and revived me. After all had departed, I was called to the little room next to the sanctuary, and made my pro-

fession of faith as the Catholic Church prescribes, and then came away light of heart, and with a clearer head than I have had these many months, but not without begging our Lord to bury deep my heart, in that wounded side so well depicted in the beautiful crucifixion, or lock it up in His little tabernacle where I shall now rest forever."

The saintly Elizabeth Ann Seton, after years of spiritual wandering and tribulations, had found peace. Her father, Doctor Richard Bayley, born in Fairfield, Connecticut, an eminent physician, who was a surgeon in Howe's army in the Revolution, had endeared himself to Americans by his tender care of the wretched and wounded American prisoners in the hands of the British after the battle of Long Island, and to New Yorkers by his services in securing the necessary legislation, and, while health officer, enforcing proper quarantine regulations for the protection of the port. Elizabeth Seton's mother was Catherine Charlton, daughter of an Episcopalian clergyman, rector of St. Ann's Church, Richmond, Staten Island. Elizabeth was born in New York, August 28th, 1774. She married William Magee Seton in her twentieth year, Bishop Samuel Provost performing the ceremony in her father's home in John Street. Her father-in-law, William Seton, an old and respected merchant of the city, welcomed the young couple to his home, No. 65 Stone Street.

In the fall of 1794, they moved to No. 8 State Street, facing the Battery, the most fashionable promenade in the city, and in this home Elizabeth Seton passed several happy years. Her summers were spent in Staten Island, or, if epi-

demic threatened the people of the city, at Bloomingdale. Her husband's failing health necessitated, in 1803, a European trip. He died in Pisa, December 27th, 1803. In her bereavement she experienced the greatest kindness from Philip and Anthony Filicchi, two patricians of Pisa. Philip, the elder brother, had traveled in the United States in 1785-6 and had met William Seton in New York. He had married an American woman, a Miss Cowley, and, having made a thorough study of American policies, resources and trade interests, he was appointed United States Consul General at Leghorn. Several years before his marriage. William Magee Seton made a tour of Italy, and at Pisa became the guest of his father's friend. Mrs. Seton and her children returned to New York in June, 1804, and Anthony Filicchi accompanied them; "to be a protection to us," wrote Mrs. Seton, "he leaves his dear wife and children. He says this is due to all my dear Seton's love and friendship for him." For some time Mrs. Seton had been in a state of spiritual unrest and her friends, the Filicchis on the one hand and the Reverend Henry Hobart, of Trinity Church, on the other, labored zealously to restore her to spiritual peace. The outcome was her reception into the Catholic Church. Her family and her friends were horrified, and she was ostracized. The Filicchi brothers proved friends indeed. In the most delicate way they assisted her to support her five children. In May, 1805, she engaged with an Englishman and his wife to assist them in an English seminary they had established in the city. Only twelve pupils entered, and the seminary

ceased to exist. Archbishop Seton, in his "Memoir" of Mrs. Seton, says there was "considerable prejudice against a Catholic teacher, and many cried out that she was a masked missionary, a disturber of the peace of families, a female Jesuit, and it required a vast deal of prudence and Christian forbearance to live at all among such people as those jaundiced Protestants. One of the most respectable among them told her plainly that a person might frequent the house of a professed Deist, but to consort with Catholics was perfectly horrifying."

Catholic friends came to take the place of those who had abandoned her. Among them were Bishop Carroll and his intimate friends, James Barry, his wife and their daughter Ann, Father John Cheverus, pastor, and afterwards Bishop, of Boston, who died Cardinal Archbishop of Bordeaux, his assistant, Father Matignon, the Abbé J. S. Tisserant, the Reverend Matthew O'Brien, the Reverend Doctor Michael Hurley, O.S.A., and the Very Reverend Louis William Valentine Dubourg, the President of St. Mary's College, Baltimore. These friends were divided in opinion as to the best course for Mrs. Seton. Some advised her to remove to Montreal, others, among them Doctor Dubourg, urged her to make her home in Baltimore. She decided on Baltimore. For some time her desire had been to found a congregation of women to care for children and orphans, and after her arrival she was admitted to the three simple vows of religion by Bishop Carroll. At that time she adopted a semi-religious habit. With the money offering of a young convert a

farm was bought at Emmetsburg, Maryland, and in June, 1806, Mrs. Seton, her two sisters-in-law and one of the pious women who had joined the community, journeyed, partly by foot, partly in a great canvas-covered wain, to their new home on a spur of the Blue Ridge Mountains.

The community prospered and pupils flocked to their school. Mother Seton, in 1811, adopted the rules and constitution of St. Vincent de Paul, and in the years that followed sent to various cities little bands of religious women to form communities therein. The sainted woman died in Emmetsburg, January 4th, 1821. The process of her beatification is being promoted by the Vincentian Fathers, who are collecting the data to place before the Ecclesiastical Court in Rome.

The famous French General Jean Victor Moreau and his wife arrived in New York in December, 1804, and were enthusiastically received. He made his home No. 225 Broadway, but subsequently removed to No. 129 Pearl Street, Hanover Square. The house, built for Isaac Gouverneur in 1798, was regarded as one of the finest in the city, and was handsomely furnished for General Moreau's occupancy. "Here Moreau lived in grand style, entertaining like a Prince." During his stay in the city he was a busy man. In addition to his social duties he found time to dictate "The Life and Campaigns of Victor Moreau, Comprehending his Trial, Justification and Other Events, till the period of his Embarkation to the United States, by an Officer of the Staff." General Moreau and an-

other distinguished Frenchman, Jean Guillaume, Baron Hyde de Neuville, who lived at No. 61 Dey Street, founded a school for French children, which was known as "L'Ecole Economique." It is said that Father Cheverus, of Boston, was one of those who assisted the institution. De Witt Clinton was its president, Hyde de Neuville its secretary, and the Irish patriot, Doctor James McNevin, one of its board of managers. The school was located on Chapel Street (West Broadway), between Duane and Reade streets, and afterwards occupied a commodious building, surmounted by a belfry, with spacious grounds, on Anthony (Worth) Street. The institution had its own printing office, managed by Joseph Desnoues, an intimate friend of Thomas O'Connor's, and a printer of several Catholic works. It is related that every morning, when they were in the city, Moreau and Hyde de Neuville went to the school and lectured or examined the scholars. With the fall of Napoleon and the return of the émigrés to France, the Economical School declined until Victor Bancel secured its "good will." Moreau was in the United States from 1804 until 1813. Born in Morlaix, France, August 11th, 1763, he was intended for the law and, graduating, had applied for admission to the bar, when the course of his career was changed by his election to the rank of Chief of the Rennois Volunteers in 1791. His rise was rapid. He was made Lieutenant-General in 1794, and led an army through a brilliant campaign in Flanders. Two years later he commanded the Army of the Rhine and Moselle, and won a great victory at Heydenheim, but, his sup-

plies having been cut off, he conducted a masterly retreat between three hostile armies, without losing a gun or any of his 7,000 prisoners.

The brilliant victories at Hunningen and Hohenlinden, and his successful campaigns in Italy and Germany, aroused the jealousy of Bonaparte, who had him accused of complicity with the Royalists. He was tried and, in 1804, sentenced to exile. He traveled extensively in America, and lived for some time in a villa near Trenton, on the Delaware River.

When hostilities began between the United States and Great Britain, in 1812, President Madison, it is said, offered General Moreau the command of the United States Army, but events in Europe determined him to ally himself with Russia and Prussia against Bonaparte. During the battle of Dresden, August 27th, 1813, he was mortally wounded. His remains are entombed in the Catholic Chapel in St. Petersburg. The dust of one of his children lies in St. Patrick's Churchyard, in Mulberry Street. Hyde de Neuville, Moreau's friend and companion in exile, came to America in 1806, and returned to France in 1814, returning to this country two years later as Minister and Consul General, and remaining in Washington until 1822. He was a very important factor in the secret negotiations between the rivals for the French throne. When Bonaparte ruled as Consul, and in the early days of the Empire, De Neuville, under the name of Doctor Roland, practiced medicine in Lyons, and won a gold medal for his success in the propagation of vaccine. Among his other meritorious public services were his improvements in the French

colonial system and his prohibition of slave trade in the French American possessions.

In the summer of 1805, two hundred and two deaths were the result of a yellow fever epidemic. The local clergy, worn out with ministering to the stricken, were reinforced by the Reverend Doctor Michael Hurley, O.S.A., of St. Augustine's Church, Philadelphia. The Abbé Sibourd was an assistant at St. Peter's at this time.

Among the exiles of Erin who sought and found fame, fortune and happiness in the young Republic, in 1805, was Doctor William James MacNevin, a native of Galway, who had accumulated much experience in his forty-two years. At twelve he had been sent to his uncle, Baron O'Kelly MacNevin, physician to the Empress Maria Theresa of Austria. Baron MacNevin entered him as a student at Prague, and he took his degree in medicine in the University of Vienna in 1784. Ireland called him, he returned to his native land, became one of the leaders of the United Irishmen, and, as a result, spent four of the best years of his life in British dungeons. Released in 1802, he hurried to France and enlisted in the Irish Legion, but, convinced that Bonaparte had no intention of sending an invading army to Ireland, he sailed for the United States, and arrived in New York July 4th. He attained great distinction in the practice of his profession, and, in 1808, was appointed Professor of Obstetrics in the College of Physicians and Surgeons, and three years later to the chair of chemistry and materia medica. He established the first chemical laboratory in the city. In 1826, in conjunction with other distinguished phy-

sicians, he founded a new medical school, and was on its staff until 1830. Doctor MacNevin's ardent love for his native land never grew cold. He was President of the "Friends of Ireland," and his name was on the roll of every Irish society. He was a man of great learning, rare accomplishments, and a linguist. Despite his professional duties, he was a writer on medical, scientific and political subjects. Doctor MacNevin died in New York, July 12th, 1841.

Francis Cooper, a Catholic of high standing in the community, was elected Member of Assembly in 1806, but found his admission to that body barred by John Jay's naturalization oath, which, though annuled in 1801, was still required, and which no Catholic could conscientiously take. The trustees of St. Peter's prepared a petition to the Legislature, which was numerously signed. The obnoxious law was finally abrogated, and Mr. Cooper took his seat during the twenty-ninth session. He served in the Assembly in 1806-7-8 and in 1809.

A free school had been opened by Father William V. O'Brien some time prior to 1806, and in this year an act was passed appropriating public money for the maintenance of St. Peter's free school. It was in this year that two persons met for the first time, in St. Peter's Church, and that meeting resulted in innumerable blessings to millions of the suffering and helpless. Mrs. Seton met the Very Reverend Louis Valentine Dubourg, and under his inspired guidance grew the resolve that resulted in the organization of the American Sisters of Charity.

Father Dubourg was born in San Domingo, in

1766. He was a seminarian of St. Sulpice when the Revolution began, and embarked at a Spanish port for the United States in 1794. The following year, having completed his studies in Baltimore, he was ordained. Two years later he was President of Georgetown College. After three years' service in that institution, he went to Cuba, and on his return opened St. Mary's College in Baltimore. He went to New Orleans, in 1812, as Administrator Apostolic of the diocese, and his efforts to arouse the patriotism of Louisianians against the invading British was warmly commended by General Andrew Jackson. Father Dubourg traveled to Rome, in 1815, to acquaint the authorities with the condition of the diocese, and while there was consecrated Bishop. On his homeward journey he visited France and obtained clerical recruits for the American mission. He took a prominent part in the organization of the Association for the Propagation of the Faith. On his return to America, he made St. Louis his episcopal residence. For nine years he labored unremittingly in founding colleges, missions and convents, not forgetting the spiritual and material interests of the Indians. In 1824 he removed to New Orleans, and, two years later, to the great loss of the American mission, sailed for France and was transferred to the diocese of Montauban, leaving it in 1833 for the Archbishopric of Besançon. He died within the year.

The trustees of St. Peter's Church in this year were: Thomas Stoughton, Andrew Morris, Cornelius Heeney, Michael Roth, John Hoes, John Hinton and John Byrne.

Three congenial spirits kept "batchelor's hall," in the opening year of the nineteenth century, over the fur store, No. 82 Water Street. They were Cornelius Heeney, an Irishman, the proprietor of the store, Francis Cooper, a Pennsylvanian, and John George Gottsberger, an Austrian. The three were deeply interested in the concerns of St. Peter's Church, serving for some years as members of the Board of Trustees, Mr. Heeney as treasurer. He was the donor of the pews and gallery fittings. Both Messrs. Heeney and Cooper were interested in politics, and both served several terms in the Assembly. A native of Kings County, Ireland, Cornelius Heeney's mother died in his boyhood, and his father marrying again, Heeney decided to seek his fortune. He was given a home and employment by a family named Fullard, not far from his native place, and, as he grew older, developed great business capabilities. Parting with his benefactors, he sailed for Philadelphia, and was shipwrecked in the Delaware. He landed in Philadelphia, thirty years of age and penniless. A Quaker named Meade gave him employment, but after three months he journeyed to New York and found a position as bookkeeper in the store of another Quaker, William Backhous, an English furrier, at No. 40 Little Dock Street. In Heeney's native county, Kings, were a number of Quaker residents, and the most cordial relations existed between them and their Catholic neighbors, hence Heeney was no stranger to the manners and customs of the people of that sect.

There were two commercial geniuses in the

employ of Mr. Backhous—Heeney, the bookkeeper, and John Jacob Astor, the porter. William Backhous, determining to retire and return to England, gave his business to Heeney and Astor, and they conducted it prosperously for several years. When they separated, Astor continued in the Little Dock Street store and Heeney located at No. 82 Water Street. Wealth flowed in upon him, and his disposition of it entitles him to be described as New York and Brooklyn's greatest Catholic philanthropist. It is estimated that his benefactions to church and charitable institutions in the early days of the New York diocese amounted to more than $60,000, regarded as a great fortune in those days. St. Peter's Church was a special object of his generosity, and his love for the old church prompted him, some years after, when he gave the ground for a site for St. Paul's Church, Brooklyn, to stipulate that it should architecturally conform to St. Peter's. For the establishment of the Prince Street orphanage he gave $18,000 and some property, and journeyed to Emmetsburg to appeal to his friend, Mother Seton, to send a band of her sisters to undertake the care of the little orphans. He and Andrew Morris took title to the site on Fifth Avenue now occupied by St. Patrick's Cathedral, which was purchased for a cemetery, November 5th, 1828, at a cost of $5,500. Mr. Heeney retired from business about 1835. He made his home in Brooklyn, in a large, double frame mansion, surrounded by seventeen acres of ground, for which he paid $7,500, in 1806, bounded by the present Congress, Amity and Court streets and the East River. From its win-

dows he could see the lower part of the city across the river that had been the scene of his commercial success. On the east side of the house was a great flower and vegetable garden, its plot surrounded by a carefully-kept box-hedge, and the lane that led to Henry Street was bordered with rows of Irish hawthorn that Mr. Heeney had imported from Ireland. The Fullards, who had given him a home in his boyhood, had been reduced to poverty by domestic troubles and business reverses, and Mr. Heeney brought three sisters of the family, then advanced in years, to America, and installed one of them as his housekeeper.

When the seminary at Nyack was destroyed by fire, in 1833, Mr. Heeney offered Bishop Dubois a tract of land on the present Congress, Clinton Court and Warren streets for the institution. The excavation was made and stone gathered for the structure, but Mr. Heeney had strong convictions in the matter of the rights of lay trustees, and the Bishop's convictions were equally as strong in opposition. They could not agree, and Mr. Heeney refused to give the Bishop clear title. The site was subsequently donated for a new church, and in time St. Paul's Church was erected. Mr. Heeney was a great lover of children, and house and grounds were enlivened by the prattle and play of the little ones. There was one ceremonial which all youthful visitors were compelled to observe. At the beginning and end of every visit each child was expected to enter the sitting-room and curtsey or bow to the quaint-looking little man seated in the large armchair. One small boy, John McCloskey, was

Mr. Heeney's ward. Long years after he became America's first Prince of the Church.

The bulk of Mr. Heeney's income had been devoted to charity, and he determined that his fortune should be given to the poor, but, with his usual business sagacity, he arranged all the details during his lifetime. The Legislature, at his request, passed an act, May 10th, 1845, incorporating "The Trustees and Associates of the Brooklyn Benevolent Society." The act provided that the corporation could take and hold by deed of gift from Cornelius Heeney parcels of land lying between Hicks, Columbia, Congress and Amity streets, and further real or personal estate conveyed to them, one-fifth of the income from the estate to be expended in supplying poor families, gratuitously, with fuel during the winter; one-tenth to be used in the purchase of shoes, stockings and other articles of clothing for poor school children, and $250 a year as the salary of a teacher of spelling, writing, reading and arithmetic for poor children, the whole clear surplus to be applied solely to the support and education of poor orphan children between the ages of four and fourteen years. The income of the estate amounts to about $25,000 annually, and the expense of administering it is about five per cent. Since the Society's organization, more than $1,000,000 has been disbursed as Mr. Heeney directed. He personally interested himself in the operations of the charity, attending a meeting for the last time March 27th, 1848. He died May 3rd following, and his remains were placed in a vault he had prepared in the rear of St. Paul's Church.

In the early days of St. Peter's, it was evidently the custom to usher in the Feast of Our Lord's Nativity with midnight Mass, but, no doubt owing to the disorderly characters who profaned the solemnity, the midnight service was discontinued in 1806. On Christmas Eve the church was surrounded by a crowd of sight-seers and roughs, which became riotous when informed that the edifice would not be opened. The disorder was quelled by some members of the congregation. The next day the same element, known at that time as "High-Binders," invaded Augusta Street (City Hall Place), chiefly populated by Catholic Irish, and assaulted several persons. A riot resulted, in which Christopher Neurwauger, a watchman, was killed, and several others injured. Mayor De Witt Clinton issued a proclamation offering a reward for information that would lead to the apprehension of the ringleaders of the disturbances and for the person or persons who killed Neurwauger.

Among the early prominent Catholic laymen of the city were Benjamin Desobrey, a French émigré, whose business was at No. 261 William Street and No. 28 Pearl Street. He returned to France after the restoration of the Monarchy. Peter Burtsell, who lived for many years at No. 10 Wall Street, was an ancestor of the eminent Monsignor Burtsell and uncle of the Reverend James A. Neill, the first native son of New York to be admitted to the priesthood; M. Delonguemare, No. 32 William Street; Joseph Icard, a French merchant and an eminent architect. M. Icard's place of business was at

No. 14 Rector Street, and his home at No. 93 Greenwich Street, afterwards at No. 308 Broadway. In the dark days of the War of 1812 he subscribed $20,000 to a government loan. After the fall of Bonaparte he returned to France and amassed a fortune in public works; John R. Skiddy, a shipmaster, lived at No. 141 Front Street. Hugh McGinnis came from the north of Ireland to New York about 1798. He made and lost several fortunes, and at one time held the office of Tobacco Inspector. He served as a trustee of St. Peter's; Matthew Carroll, No. 78 Vesey Street; Thomas Fleming, with an office at No. 25 Broad Street; Garret Byrne, No. 23 Bedloe Street; Dennis Doyle, who once owned the site of St. Patrick's Cathedral; Lawrence Goudain, of No. 30 Pearl Street; Robert Fox, No. 76 Water Street; Hugh O'Hara, No. 28 Bedloe Street; I. B. Durand, No. 114 Pearl Street; Dennis McCarty, No. 57 East George Street; John Corgan, No. 81 Catherine Street; Thomas Glover, No. 246 Pearl Street; Louis Laroue, No. 10 Roosevelt Street; Michael Roth, No. 23 Partition Street; James Walsh, No. 14 Skinner Street; Miles F. Clossey, No. 163 Broadway; Anthony Trapani, a native of Meta, near Naples, was a pioneer of the great host of Italians who have since made the city their home. He was, it is said, the first foreigner to be naturalized after the ratification of the Constitution. He was an importer of fruit and cigars, at No. 139 Fly Market; Francis Varet came to the city from San Domingo about 1797, and lived at No. 26 Reade Street. In 1804 his store was at No. 112 Chatham Street.

He was at one time the largest importer of silk in New York.

Griffith's in his "Annals of Baltimore," says that the Catholic population of New York city, in 1807, was estimated at 14,000, "a large part of whom are refugees from St. Domingo and other islands." In this year Bernard Dornin, New York's first Catholic publisher, opened a book store and publishing business in No. 136 Pearl Street. He issued, in 1807, an edition of Pastorini's "History of the Church." The New York city subscribers numbered 318. Two years later 144 New Yorkers subscribed for an edition of Fletcher on "Religion Controversy." Dornin subsequently carried on the Catholic publishing business in Baltimore and Philadelphia, and died in the latter city, in 1823.

Father William V. O'Brien, in his sixty-eighth year, and broken in health because of his heroic and tireless ministrations to the sick and dying during the yellow fever epidemics of 1795 and 1798, was unable to cope with the great pressing problems that grew with the growth of Catholicity in the city. Father Matthew O'Brien, his devoted brother and assistant, hourly occupied with ministering to his immense charge, had not the time to solve problems. St. Peter's held the faithful in the downtown district, but the constantly growing Catholic population in the suburbs was in urgent need of spiritual guidance. Priests and laity were filled with joy, therefore, when, in the summer of 1808, the great news reached the United States that Pope Pius VII had, by his Bulls of April 8th, divided the diocese of Baltimore, and erected the Sees of New York,

BISHOP RICHARD LUKE CONCANEN

Philadelphia, Boston and Bardstown, Kentucky. The learned Dominican, Father Richard Luke Concanen, had been appointed Bishop of New York, and it was announced that he would bring with him to America a Brief and the Pallium for John Carroll, the patriot, who had been made Archbishop of Baltimore. It was with great reluctance that the student monk was reconciled to wearing the miter. He was consecrated with great pomp in the Church of the Nuns of St. Catherine, at Rome, April 24th, 1808, by Cardinal de Pietro, and left for Leghorn to take passage for New York. The disturbed condition of the country, owing to the Napoleonic wars and the sequestration of American ships by the French, made it impossible for him to sail. The anxiety of two years' fruitless endeavor to reach his diocese proved too much for him, weakened by a protracted illness, and he died in Naples, June 19th, 1810. As day succeeded day, and the eagerly-expected Bishop did not arrive in his diocese, the joy caused by the news of his appointment turned to something like dismay. There was urgent need of a head to direct the faithful, whose numbers were increased by every emigrant ship that entered the bay. The knowledge of these conditions added to the anxiety and grief of Bishop Concanen, and prompted him to send to Archbishop Carroll a general authority over ecclesiastical matters in the New York diocese.

Whenever, in the early history of New York, the Catholics needed assistance, one of the Society of Jesus hurried to their aid. They were the ministers, often at the peril of their lives, to the

first of the faithful to settle here; they organized the first congregation, and one of them was sent by Archbishop Carroll to organize the diocese. In December, 1808, the Jesuit Father Anthony Kohlmann came to the city. He was a Frenchman, thirty-seven years old, a graduate of the Colleges of Colmar and Freiburg. After his ordination, in 1796, he joined the Society of the Sacred Heart. Driven from Belgium by the Revolution, he settled at Hagenbrunn, Austria. During an epidemic in 1799, he was called the "Martyr of Charity" by the sufferers because of his self-sacrificing zeal in their behalf. Next he is found nursing sick soldiers in Italy, afterwards president of a college in Bavaria, and later of a college in Holland. On the re-establishment of the Jesuit order he joined it, and, coming to America in 1806, was appointed a visitor to the congregations in Pennsylvania. Two years later he was transferred to the diocese of New York and was appointed, under Archbishop Carroll's authority from Bishop Concanen, Vicar-General and Administrator. Father Kohlmann arrived in the city at a time of great commercial depression, produced by the passage by Congress, December 22nd, 1807, at the recommendation of President Jefferson, of an act prohibiting the departure from United States ports of all cargo-laden vessels. This embargo was repealed by an act of February 27th, 1809. During the first three months of its enforcement 500 ships were tied at the New York wharves, there were 120 business failures, amounting to $5,000,000, and thousands were unemployed. The population of the city numbered about 85,000. The

number of inhabitants had trebled in twenty years, and the improvements had kept pace with the growth of the population.

Broadway from the Battery for a mile and a half was lined with, for that day, lofty red brick buildings, chiefly dwellings near the Battery, and large stores further up the thoroughfare. Its brick-paved walks were shaded by trees, and the roadway was well-paved. Between Broadway and the Bowery road were unfinished streets and detached buildings. The City Hotel, on Broadway, its grade floor occupied by well-stocked stores, was one of the most imposing buildings in the city. Mechanic Hall, at the corner of Broadway and Robinson Street, was another fine structure. On Broadway, corner of Rector Street, Grace Episcopal Church, a plain brick edifice, had been erected recently. Facing Bowling Green, with its pedestal from which the patriots had pulled down the statue of George III, stood the Government House, erected as an executive mansion on the site of the old fort, at this time occupied as a custom house, and one hundred years later to be occupied by a marble palace devoted to the same purpose. The City Hall, formerly Federal Hall, on Wall Street, had grown old, shaky and inadequate to accommodate the public departments of the growing city's government. The corner stone of a new City Hall, destined to be one of the most admired buildings for many a day in the United States, was laid on the Park, or Common, in May, 1803. Ten years elapsed before the completion of the edifice. Facing the Park, or Common, were Mechanic Hall, the theater and some of the best

dwellings in the city. In the Park were flourishing elm, plane, willow and catalpa trees, and the sidewalks on Broadway and Chatham Street, bounding the Park, were bordered with rows of stately poplars. The theater, with a seating capacity of 1,200, was unfinished, exteriorly, but so handsomely decorated and appointed within as to vie with London's favorite playhouses. All the London successes were reproduced on the New York boards, and several of Shakespeare's plays. "The only fault is," wrote a visitor to the city, "that they are too much curtailed, by which they often lose their effect; and the performances are sometimes over by half past ten, though they do not begin at an earlier hour than in London." The New Yorkers of that day believed in keeping early hours.

In the summer the Vauxhall and Ranelagh gardens, with their band concerts and theatrical and fireworks exhibitions, were favorite resorts. There were thirty-four churches in the city, five banks and nine insurance companies. Every day except Sunday was market day, and the Exchange, Fly, Oswego, Bear, Catherine Slip and New Markets were busy centers of barter and sale. Thirty-one charitable and benevolent organizations took care of the poor and unfortunate. Twenty newspapers and magazines were published, and on Nassau Street, between Cedar Street and Liberty Street, was a public library of about ten thousand volumes, besides three or four public reading rooms and several subscription circulating libraries. The ordinary cost of carrying on the city government, about this time, was $176,000. Prior to the passage of

the Embargo Act, the older section of the city, with its wharves lined with shipping, its narrow streets, crowded with drays and pedestrians, its warehouses, counting houses and coffee houses, had been the busiest section in the new world.

Within the twenty years prior to 1808, everything in New York had grown and improved with the growth of the population except the Catholic Church organization, and this Father Kohlmann had been sent to regulate and direct. He found about fourteen thousand Catholics, one church edifice, burdened with debt; a graveyard; a parochial school, with about 100 pupils, that would probably have ceased to exist if it had not been assisted with public funds. Such was the condition of the diocese when Father Kohlmann came to New York, and through his heroic labors and those of his co-worker, Father Fenwick, erected St. Patrick's pro-Cathedral and established the New York Literary Institution on what is now the corner of Fifth Avenue and Fiftieth Street. On that corner, from the pulpit of St. Patrick's Cathedral, His Grace John M. Farley, the beloved Archbishop of New York, announced, Sunday, February 2nd, 1908, the arrangements for the celebration of the centenary of the establishment of the diocese. He reminded his hearers that the present number of Catholics in the archdiocese was 1,200,000. That the churches in the archdiocese numbered 310. That the four priests ministering to the faithful in 1808 had increased to 855 in 1908. One hundred and thirty parochial schools were required to accommodate the pupils that one school could house one hundred years ago. "Beloved

brethren," said His Grace, "what heroic sacrifice all this implies I need not say to you who are the descendants of the men and women who made all these things possible by their self-denial in order that God's Church might grow, that His holy Faith might be known to all men, that it might be preserved to their children, that His Kingdom might be established and His holy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven. This noble spirit of sacrifice for God's sake is what has brought such abundant blessings on the Church during these one hundred years past."

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